

Forty-Seventh Annual
REPORT
of the
Hawaiian Historical
Society

FOR THE YEAR 1938



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published May, 1939

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Officers and Committees for 1939.....	4
Minutes of Annual Meeting.....	5
Minutes of Public Meeting.....	5
Report of the President.....	7
Report of the Treasurer.....	9
Report of the Librarian.....	10
Nationality of John Young, a Chief of Hawaii.....	13
John F. G. Stokes	
Captain Henry Barber of Barber's Point.....	39
Judge F. W. Howay	
Professor John Henry Anderson "The Wizard of the North" at Honolulu in 1859	50
William F. Wilson	
List of Members.....	71
Kauai Historical Society	75

PLATES

	FACING PAGE
I John Young in 1819.....	13
II "The Wizard of the North".....	50
III "Royal Hawaiian Theatre".....	52
VI Advertisement in The Polynesian.....	68

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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MINUTES OF PUBLIC MEETING

November 18, 1938

A public meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on this date at the Library of Hawaii, at which time the following program was presented:

Miss Maude Jones, Librarian of the Archives of Hawaii, gave a description of the making of a canoe, translated from an old Hawaiian account preserved in the archives.

Professor T. Blake Clark of the University of Hawaii read portions of a paper dealing with the development and naming of the streets in the city of Honolulu.

Mr. John F. G. Stokes, with the aid of maps, reviewed the various arguments advanced in support of the theory of an early Spanish discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, and arrived at the conclusion that the theory is without any sound basis.

The meeting was then adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING

February 17, 1939

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on the above date in the assembly room of the Library of Hawaii.

The following two amendments to the By-Laws were read and approved:

Amend Art. II, Sec. 1, sub-section (1) of the By-Laws to read as follows:

ACTIVE MEMBERS. Any person who shall have been elected by a majority vote at a meeting of the Board of Trustees or at a meeting of the Society shall become an Active Member upon payment of the annual dues of \$2.00 per year. Active members may participate by voice and vote in the management of the affairs of the Society.

Amend Art. III, Sec. 3 of the By-Laws to read as follows:

QUORUM. Four Trustees shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Board of Trustees. Any number of members present at any meeting of the Society shall constitute a quorum.

On recommendation of the Nominating Committee, the following officers were elected:

President—Hon. Walter F. Frear.

Trustees for reelection until 1941—T. W. Ellis and P. C. Morris.

James Tice Phillips elected Trustee until 1941 in place of R. S. Kuykendall, who is out of the Territory of Hawaii.

A very interesting program arranged by the Program and Research Committee was then presented.

Judge F. W. Howay's paper, "Captain Henry Barber of Barber's Point," was read by Rev. Henry P. Judd in the absence of Judge Howay.

W. F. Wilson's paper on the visit to Honolulu in 1859 of Professor Anderson, the "Wizard of the North," was read in outline by Mr. J. F. G. Stokes in the absence of Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Stokes also read extracts from his paper on the nationality of Chief John Young of Hawaii.

A lengthy paper by Professor Klaus Mehnert on the Russians in Hawaii was, in the absence of Professor Mehnert and on account of lack of time, postponed to the next meeting of the Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

PENROSE C. MORRIS,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

Your Society has had a gratifyingly successful year—its forty-seventh.

There have been accessions of 6 life and 58 annual members—the largest increase for some years past. There are always a few losses—from deaths, removals from the Territory, etc. At present there are 2 honorary, 23 life and 239 annual members, besides the 67 members of the Kauai branch.

The finances are in good condition.

The Forty-sixth Annual Report, including three historical papers, was published in a 52 page pamphlet. Besides the annual meeting held February 25, an interim meeting was held on November 18, at which three additional papers were presented. These are now being printed in a much larger pamphlet, which will soon be ready for distribution. This will bring the printed publications of the Society up to 74, containing upwards of 200 articles on Hawaiian and Polynesian subjects of considerable variety.

This has been the first full year since the removal of the Society's Library from the second to the first floor of the Library of Hawaii. The move has proved highly advantageous. It has meant better care and service, better accessibility, and better working conditions—with its better arrangement, better light and added equipment. It also adjoins the "Hawaiiana Room" of the Library of Hawaii. With its nearly 6,500 books, pamphlets and bound volumes of newspapers, the Library has been of inestimable value to researchers. It is hoped that both members and non-members will avail themselves increasingly of the opportunities it affords.

The year has been rich in publications relating to Hawaii. Notably among the books of special interest from the standpoint

of the Society, there have appeared Dr. Peter H. Buck's *Vikings of the Sunrise*, Prof. Andrew W. Lind's *An Island Community*, and Ernest W. Wakukawa's *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*. But the event of this nature not only of the year but of many years has been the publication of the long-awaited first volume of Prof. Ralph S. Kuykendall's *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, covering the period to the end of Kamehameha III's reign. This has involved the gathering of much new source material at home and abroad and many years of studious and scholarly labor by Prof. Kuykendall; first, from 1922 to 1932, under the Hawaiian Historical Commission, and since then under the University of Hawaii, pursuant to legislative acts of 1921, 1923 and 1931. It is a comprehensive, definitive history, copiously supported with reference notes. The Trustees of your Society approved the text conformably to a legislative requirement of its approval by either the Trustees or the Legislature before publication. Prof. Kuykendall, it may be added, has served on Committees of this Society for 15 years, has been a Trustee and Corresponding Secretary for 13 years, and both Corresponding and Recording Secretary for 8 years. He is also one of the two honorary members of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. FREAR,
President.

Honolulu, T H.
February 17, 1938

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 12, 1938, to February 10, 1939

Income

Balance in Commercial Account		
as of February 12, 1938.....	\$ 208.85	
Initiation Fees	55.00	
Dues	775.00	
Dues, Kauai Historical Society.....	67.00	
Sale of Reports.....	12.75	1,118.60

Disbursements

Dues, California Historical Society	10.00	
Dues, American Historical Association	4.00	
Dues, Business Historical Society.....	10.00	
Dues, Volcano Research Association	5.00	
Purchase of Books.....	101.82	
Postage, Envelopes and Stationery.....	54.26	
Mellen Associates (Meeting Notices, Meeting Reports).....	38.32	
Library of Hawaii (Rent).....	2.00	
Bishop Trust (Safe Deposit Box).....	3.30	
Print Shop (450 copies 46th Annual Report).....	289.04	
Foster & Futernick (Binding Periodicals).....	16.25	
Paradise of Pacific (Membership Drive).....	32.35	
Repairing Books, Pictures.....	23.75	590.09
Balance in Commercial Account		
as of February 10, 1939.....		528.51

Endowment Fund

Balance in Savings Account		
as of February 12, 1938.....	493.12	
Interest on Savings Account.....	10.78	
Interest on Bonds.....	80.00	
Dividends, von Hamm-Young Stock.....	89.56	
Dividends, Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Stock.....	75.00	
Donation, Stephen W. Phillips.....	20.00	768.46

Assets

Two \$1000 Theo. H. Davies bonds par.....	2,000.00	
Fifteen Shares von Hamm-Young preferred stock	1,517.60	
Fifty Shares, Pac. Gas & Elec. preferred.....	1,506.95	
Cash, Commercial Account.....	528.51	
Cash, Savings Account.....	768.46	\$6,321.52

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS W. ELLIS,
Treasurer.

Audited and found correct:

D. W. ANDERSON, Auditor

February 14, 1939.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN 1938

To the Officers and Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

The year 1938 has been a quiet one in the Hawaiian Historical Society Library. After the first excitement of moving into our new quarters was over, the real work began. The books on the shelves had to be checked to see that they were in their correct places, the atlases collected in one group and the extra annual reports, papers and reprints of the Society properly placed and the shelves numbered so that they could be located easily and quickly.

The revising of book numbers and the recataloging and the replacing of old book numbers has been progressing slowly as I felt it was more important to get the new books catalogued and on the shelves where they would be useful to the members of the Society. The library being where it is now, next to the Hawaiian Department of the Library of Hawaii, has meant that the research worker, not a member of the Society, has been able to use the books not available in the Hawaiian Department. The books most used are the early voyages and the early governmental reports.

The Library of Hawaii incorporated in their total number of books this year the books of the Historical Society. In order to do this a new inventory had to be taken, this time by classes. This count by classes is interesting as it shows up the strength and weakness of the library. The library has 279 newspapers and magazines; 15 books on philosophy; 308 on religion; 511 on sociology or the 300's as they are called; 49 on languages; 403 on sciences; 226 on agriculture and like subjects; 28 on the fine arts; 30 on literature; 412 on history; 846 on travel; 32 fiction and 179 Hawaiian books, making a total of 3,456 catalogued books; 2,643 catalogued pamphlets, and 263 uncatalogued

Hawaiian books. Since June we have added 2 newspapers, 13 books and 6 catalogued pamphlets.

The reference questions to be answered were almost nil. One person wanted to know when Kamehameha I was born and when he became king of all the islands. The question of Kamehameha I's birth being open to controversy, I sent him the Hawaiian Historical Society report dealing on the subject. Another person requested information on Kaoanaeha, the second wife of John Young, where she had met him and who her parents were. Most of the other letters asked for annual reports or for Paper No. 20 which is being printed now.

Each year the Society is supposed to give the Library of Hawaii \$200.00 for its own use. This the Library of Hawaii has been generous enough to let the Society use for mending and rebinding the old newspapers. In this way the newspapers will be gradually put in usable condition. The reports, bulletins, continuation and occasional papers are sent to the coast bindery each year.

The library received this year the following items as gifts: Bulletins and Occasional papers from the Bishop Museum; Research papers and other publications from the University of Hawaii; sixty-four annual reports, papers and reprints of the Society from Mrs. May L. Restarick; a Captain Cook bi-centenary 1928 souvenir booklet from Mr. Ernest W. Stenberg; 2 newspapers and three pictures from Mr. Arthur C. Alexander, (the pictures are interesting as they are of groups of men, prominent in the early years of Hawaii); Mr. Alexander also gave us a newspaper, the Hawaii Herald of May 31, 1906, telling of the death of David Douglas; Mr. Edwin H. Bryan Jr. presented the Society with an autographed copy of his new book *Ancient Hawaiian Life*, a distinct addition to our shelves; Mr. Bruce Cartwright remembered the Society with a photostat copy of a letter addressed to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce from Alexander Cleland, chairman of the National Baseball Centennial, telling of their plans to recognize Mr. Alexander Joy Cartwright as the founder of organized baseball, and a copy of the newspaper *Glimmerglass* from Cooperstown telling of Mr. Bruce Cartwright's gift of his grandfather's log of his trip across the continent to Hawaii in 1849. Mr. Ralph S. Kuykendall presented

the library with an autographed copy of his new history, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, a history that Hawaii can be proud of; the Bishop Museum gave us a typewritten copy of an article by Joseph Goodrich, *Notice of the Volcanic Character of the Island of Hawaii* . . . which had been published by the *American Journal of Science* in 1826; Mr. Samuel Williston sent us his book, *William Richards*; Judge Walter F. Frear gave Society four volumes of a magazine in German, published for the Evangelistic Missions and Bible Schools for the years 1824, 1825, 1827 and 1838, after thoughtfully having a translation of the Hawaiiana made by Miss Nancy Littell; Donald Angus sent the Society a typewritten copy of the Hawaiian part of the MS *Journal of James Colnett of the Prince of Wales*, Jan. 1-Mar. 20, 1788; we are under obligation to Dr. Carl F. Reppun for a complete translation from the Russian of the Hawaiiana of Golovnin's voyage, as the translation that appeared in *The Friend* in 1894 was correct as far as it went, but covered only a part.

The library added to its collection by purchasing the following books: *Vikings of the Sunrise*, by Peter H. Buck; *My Personal Recollections*, by Bishop Henry B. Restarick; *Donald Mackenzie, King of the Northwest*, by Cecil W. Mackenzie; *Unending Melody*, by Julius Rodman; *Voyage of the Hazard*, by Stephen Reynolds; *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii*, by Ernest K. Wakukawa; and Otto Degener's v. 3 of *Flora Hawaiensis*.

During the year the library has been used 332 times which is about double the record of the previous year. Let us hope that next year with so many new members we will double this record.

Respectfully submitted,

VIOLET A. SILVERMAN,

Librarian.

PLATE I



JOHN YOUNG

A Chief of Hawaii and Hawaiian Viceroy

Aged 76

Drawn in August, 1819 by Jacques Arago, draughtsman
of de Freycinet's scientific expedition.

Photograph from Bishop Museum

NATIONALITY OF JOHN YOUNG, A CHIEF OF HAWAII

By JOHN F. G. STOKES

In presenting this article on Chief John Young's nationality or nativity for publication by the Hawaiian Historical Society, an apology or explanation is due to fellow members for burdening them with much that the Society has previously laid before them. The paper was originally prepared for publication—not in Hawaii where the accumulation of facts from 1792 to the present leaves no room for doubt that Young was born in England—but in New England where at least two families, mutually unrelated, one in Massachusetts and the other in Connecticut, claim him as a near relative with a birthplace in their own respective states.

Had these New England families, now large and widely ramified, maintained their claims only within their own groups, comment on the same from these islands could be regarded as impertinence. But the claims have reached publication many times, beginning with 1850. In addition, in 1856 and later, letters were received here from members of those families questioning or attempting to change the local belief, or, as in 1932 and 1934 [38]¹, arguing the matter with the librarians of the local institutions and others who, in response to requests, had courteously forwarded such information as each had in hand.

For many years the writer had been collecting information on John Young. He received one of the requests transmitted by the Bishop Museum. Learning that the Society already had forwarded all its publications on the subject, and urged by its librarian, he decided to outline the evidence on which Young was believed locally to be British and offer it for publication in the locality most accessible to the families mentioned. That they needed such enlightenment is obvious. The information was

¹ Bracketed numerals indicate references listed on pp. 37-38.

drawn from numerous publications or manuscripts, copies of which are available in New England libraries; yet the various members of the families concerned appeared to be unaware of it.

In 1934, the Society's president, Rev. Henry P. Judd, submitted the prepared manuscript to the Connecticut Historical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society conjointly, asking that after consultation, one of them would become the publisher. The first offered to place the contribution on file for consultation, and the second suggested, as the appropriate place of publication, the Register of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and offered to re-submit it for the purpose. Mr. Judd wrote to the three societies approving the suggestions, which were then carried out. No publication followed, nor did the genealogical society then or later reply to letters, nor to a subsequent request for the manuscript's return.

Early in 1938, when corresponding with the director of the American Antiquarian Society, the writer examined his copy of the article for unconscious offense to New England possible prejudices, and, recognizing none, added further data and submitted the revision to that society. The director explained that his society published only the papers of its members, and, on account of the article's genealogical character, suggested its value to the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Submitted by him to the latter, the silence of over six months which followed was broken by the said director's insistence on an answer, which was the return of the article with these comments:

Since the article shows that this man [Young] was probably of English birth and was not connected with New England families, since it is very difficult to follow the attempts to account for the many men named John Young who appear in the Islands, and since also there are now no living descendants of the important John Young, it seems to us that the article is rather historical than genealogical, and that it would be of interest chiefly to students of Hawaiian history. . . .

The statement of Mr. Stokes in his letter to you that the article which you sent to us "concerns New England families entirely" is certainly misleading.

The present article is an elaboration and rearrangement of its predecessors. In justification of its presentation here may be mentioned the fact that much has been added with which the members may be unfamiliar, while the collection under one cover of widely scattered data on Young may be a convenience. For

the New England families, information which may explain the disappearance of their relatives has been included.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of help in the preparation of the article by means of information and suggestions from Judge F. W. Howay, Mr. William F. Wilson, Professor R. S. Kuykendall and especially, from Mr. Bruce Cartwright, trustee of the Queen Emma Estate, who generously made available his extensive collection of notes on Young.

JOHN YOUNG AND HIS FAMILY

Chief John Young (plate I), was a somewhat illiterate sailor who arrived in Hawaii as boastwain of the snow *Eleanora*, Captain Simon Metcalfe, of New York, and became a Hawaiian chief, island governor and viceroy, and grandfather of a queen. His original settlement in the islands was not intentional on his part. Going ashore at Hawaii island for recreation in March, 1790, he was detained (nay kidnapped, though with good intentions) by the orders of King Kamehameha and the *Eleanora* sailed without him. After one unsuccessful attempt to escape in 1791, he became reconciled to his situation and remained in the islands until his death in 1835—a residence of forty-five years.

Young's Hawaiian name was Olohana, the native pronunciation of the boatswain's call "all hands." With Young's aid in warfare and counsel Kamehameha, a former rebel, had marked success in extending his conquests from part of Hawaii island to the whole of the group, and also in dealing with foreigners.

A recognition of Young's value brought him the rank of high chief, while his loyalty and reliability were such that he became viceroy on Hawaii island during the king's absence. He married into the royal family. As a civilizing agent in his adopted home, his contribution was greater than that of any other one man. In his will, he bequeathed a vast amount of landed property, the value of which today would run into millions of dollars. No history of Hawaii fails to notice him and his descendents, and their close association with Hawaiian official and court life.

Young married twice, the dates being approximately 1795 and 1805. His first wife, Namokuelua of Oahu, bore him two sons, Robert and James, both of whom were sent to the United States to be educated [19, p. 72]. Robert fought in the war of

1812. He was captured by the British and went to Bermuda—the last heard of him [11]. James, known also as Kanehoa, was a member of the Hawaiian royal party accompanying Kamehameha II to England in 1824. At different times he was governor of Kauai and Maui islands. Namokuelua died about 1804.

Young's second wife was Kaoanaeha of the royal line of Hawaii, being a niece of Kamehameha I. Their children in order of birth were Fannie, Grace, John and Jane.

John Young, Jr., or Keoni Ana, the companion of Kamehameha III, was premier of the kingdom and minister of the interior.

Fannie married a Hawaiian chief and became the mother of Emma, better known as Queen Emma through marriage to Kamehameha IV in 1856.

Grace married Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, an English physician, and adopted her niece Emma, just mentioned.

Jane married a Hawaiian chief and bore two sons. John Young's line is now extinct.

While his diary (so-called) indicates that he had little, if any, schooling, this John Young or Olohana was a man of sterling worth. Accounts by voyagers between 1790 and 1820 mention him more often than any other individual except Kamehameha. A consideration of his attributed English nationality may await that of the claims connecting him with New England.

RECORDS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FAMILY

The Massachusetts family bases its claim on the assertion that John Young of Hawaii was born at Wellfleet, Cape Cod, to Jonathan (or John) and Rebecca Harding Young. In 1913, the late Henry Restarick, D.D., Bishop of Honolulu and later president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, was shown this family's records and accumulated data in Boston. He was so impressed with them that, on his return to Honolulu, he prepared a long paper indicating the great probability that Young was born in America instead of in England as generally understood. From this publication [31], the main points are extracted:

The family records which I have examined have this statement under the list of children of John Young and Rebecca Harding:

"Sixth, David (alias John), (6) b. Feb. 2, 1759, d. Hawaii, December, 1835 married Kaonaehi (Kaoanaeha), children, Jane, Fannie, Grace, John Young, Jr. (7).

"Emma, (8) Kaleleonalani, daughter of Fannie, b. January, 1831, d. April 25, 1885, m. Alexander Liholiho, June 19, 1856."

After careful investigation I find that it has been, and is the universal belief of the family that John Young of Hawaii was the David (alias John) Young of Wellfleet, Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Every paper relating to the matter and every oral tradition among the numerous and scattered members of the family tell the same story.

In the Boston Herald of 1850. . . [an account of a family reunion] . . . the story of John Young is told quite fully, according to the family tradition. It states that John Young, . . . sailed as boatswain of the ship Eleanor, Captain Metcalf, that while in the Sandwich Islands he was detained on shore and would have been killed but for the daughter² of Kamehameha, who saved his life and whom he afterwards married; that he became the friend and trusted advisor of the King and did much to improve the condition of the people.

The stories which the Massachusetts papers have published from time to time about John Young evidently follow the tradition of the family without any correction from the historians of the Islands. In some respects these accounts give the general facts, but are usually colored with romance or filled out by imagination.

In the records compiled . . . is the statement: "David Young was accidentally left on shore, was taken prisoner, but his life was spared by Princess Kaoanaeha, whom he afterwards married. He changed his name to John."

A newspaper in 1886 says that Young, "being left on shore and being afraid of being eaten, he hid himself in an empty hogshead where he was discovered by a princess who saved his life."

The "Barnstable Bee," of 1896, giving a review of the family history says: "There is no reason known for this change of name" [from David to John]. . . .

In all family documents is the statement that David Young of Wellfleet, Mass., changed his name to John Young and under that name sailed in 1789 on the Eleanor, Captain Metcalf, and that this man lived and died in the Sandwich Islands.

. . . The family tradition is that the Eleanor sailed from Newburyport, where John Young had two brothers [Jonathan and Jeremiah] who followed the sea. [31, pp. 26-7.]

. . . it is stated positively by the descendents of the Young family in Massachusetts that letters were written by the Queen [Emma], or at her request to Massachusetts people making inquiries whether any of John Young's family were still living [31, p. 33].

"David [Young] shipped as boatswain on the ship Eleanor on a voyage to the Pacific Ocean. She returned from a long cruise without him, reporting that he was massacred by the natives in the Sandwich Islands. Many years later, his family at the Cape were visited by a

² Romance must be expected in oral tradition. Regarding this and the paragraphs which followed, the well authenticated facts are that Kamehameha detained Young, and later protected him from the enraged chiefs after an attempted escape. The chiefs desired Young's death so that knowledge of a massacre of white sailors would not be revealed. Kaoanaeha was Kamehameha's niece, not his daughter, and married Young after his first wife's death and about fifteen years after his arrival and the attempts on his life.

mariner who bore from the long lost David a message—that he was still living and comfortably situated in one of those islands but was not exactly at liberty to return. From time to time afterward affectionate remembrances were transmitted by him through Cape Cod mariners . . .” [31, pp. 35-6].

. . . a story in the Yarmouth Register . . . that in a closet was found a dress, in the pocket of which was a letter from David Young to his favorite Aunt Elizabeth . . . Every member of the family with whom I have conversed holds a firm belief that John Young of Hawaii is the David Young born at Wellfleet in 1759 [31, p. 38].

In the records also is the statement:

. . . that on one occasion a person who had been in Hawaii visited on Cape Cod and said to Mrs. Cole's grandmother (Abigail Young's daughter): “You look very much like John Young of the Sandwich Islands.” The visitor was greatly surprised when told that the lady was John Young's niece [31, p. 38].

So far as known, but one portrait (plate I) was made of Chief John Young, namely, that by the French artist Arago in 1819, when Young was 76.

In a later publication Bishop Restarick completely withdrew his support of the Massachusetts family's claims, for reasons given [32, p. 21].

RECORDS OF THE CONNECTICUT FAMILY

The principal points of the Connecticut family's claims in hand are culled from many statements in numerous letters received in Honolulu in recent years [38]. The letter-writer states that John Young of Hawaii was born in 1763, in Windham Co., Connecticut, the seventh and last child of John Young and his wife Zerviah Huntington. Like those preceding, these claims are founded on family traditions, written down in later years. But three written records are mentioned:

I. David (brother of John) had a son, . . . who wrote a sketch of his line of the Youngs in 1850. In this MS he states that his Uncle John went to Hawaii, married there and had a son John and a son James who were very influential in the Political Circles of the Islands and one of the Sons was Prime Minister to the King.

II. MS data on the Windham Co., Connecticut families, collected by Wm. L. Weaver in 1864, and deposited with the Connecticut State Historical Society, Hartford. Among these are two notes:

“John, son of John Young and Zerviah Huntington, his wife, did not marry. Was massacred at the Sandwich Islands.”

“John Young was in the time of the revolution taken a prisoner on board a privateer and put in the old Jersey prison ship in New York harbor. After his release he shipped on board the Eleanor whose crew was massacred at the Sandwich Islands, and he among them, unmarried.”

III. Confirmatory evidence also is furnished in the *Huntington Genealogy*, p. 661, published by the Huntington Family Association, 1915, as follows: "Zerviah (Huntington) Young, born Feb. 24, 1732-3; married, Nov. 12, 1754, John Young of Windham, Connecticut. He was a soldier in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. Children . . .

"5. David, . . . He was a Sea Captain, . . .

"7. John was a captain of a privateer, was taken prisoner and sent to the Sandwich Islands and died there at the age of 72."

Evaluation of the New Englanders' claims to kinship with Chief John Young may be postponed until consideration is given to data, available in Hawaii, on the basis of which his nativity is believed to be English.

LOCAL EVIDENCE OF ENGLISH BIRTH

Upon presentation of these data, a great contrast will be observed with those gathered in New England, where the claimants prove beyond doubt in their estimation, by means of well prepared genealogies or well preserved family records, that their particular candidate is fully identified as their relative, born on American soil. The weak line in the chain, of course, is his identity with Chief John Young of Hawaii.

On the other hand, Chief John Young seems to have been of such humble origin that genealogies, apparently, were never in mind. His ancestral records were not saved, and even his birth date cannot be confirmed, because statutory birth registration had not yet been enforced [27]. Most of his personal papers were destroyed by flood forty years ago. All now available is indirect evidence, and information recorded by his contemporaries as communicated by John Young to them. Yet, the accumulation of these contemporary records is great, and the statements affirming Chief Young's nativity as English are consistent, while the names of the recorders are those of worthy people.

That Chief John Young was born in England has been accepted without question in Hawaii, as well as by his own and adopted children [31, pp. 39-40]. The latter were those of his close companion, the Welshman Isaac Davis, who predeceased him.

Particularly significant is the fact that Chief Young's will provided for the distribution of his personal property under the superintendence of

His Britanick Majesty's Consul residing at the time of my decease at the Sandwich Islands, or such person or persons as he, the said Consul, may appoint [33, p. 103; 37].

The executors and witnesses were English. The epitaph on Young's tomb, in the grounds of the Royal Mausoleum, reads:

*Beneath this Stone
are deposited the remains of
JOHN YOUNG
(of Lancashire in England)
The Friend and Companion in Arms of
KAMEHAMEHA
who departed this life
December 17th 1835,
in the 93rd year of his age
and the 46th of his residence on the
SANDWICH ISLANDS.*

In 1856, about the time of Queen Emma's marriage, a member of the Connecticut family asked the U. S. Commissioner at Honolulu, David L. Gregg, for particulars of John Young and his family. From the copy of the reply in Gregg's letter-book the following is given [11]:

Legation of the United States,
Honolulu, August 30, 1856.

Sir,

Your letter of the 4th of June last, making enquiries in regard to the family of John Young has been received.

John Young the father of John Young, who is now Minister of the Interior in this Kingdom, & grandfather of the present Queen was born at Crosly, near Liverpool on the 17th of March 1744. Prior to our revolution he went to the North American Colonies and was engaged as a seaman chiefly from the Ports of New York and Philadelphia. In the winter of 1789-90 he left the United States on the ship Eleanor, Capt. Metcalfe, and arrived at the Island of Hawaii in March of the latter year . . . [story of detention].

John Young, (the captive of 1790) was the son of Robert & Grace Young. He had two brothers Peter and James, both of whom were pilots at Liverpool.

For these particulars I am chiefly indebted to Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, who is married to a daughter of John Young (Sen) & possesses most of the papers left by him. . . .

The Young family here has always been reputed to be of immediate English origin, and I think there is ample testimony to show that it is so in fact.

Very respectfully yours,
David L. Gregg.

For the place "Crosly" mentioned, obviously "Crosby" was intended. On the map, two towns Great Crosby and Little Crosby are marked in Lancashire, about a mile apart and five miles northward from Liverpool.

The names which Chief John Young gave his children, be it observed, are consistent with those of his known relatives in England. For instance Robert, Grace and James are also the names of his father, mother and brother, respectively. The other three children were named Fannie, Jane and John. Names favored by the New England families seem to have been Jeremiah, Jonathan, David, Rebecca, Zerviah, Miriam, Abigail, in addition to the ubiquitous John.

From the harbor board at Liverpool neither confirmation nor denial of the statement regarding the pilots may be obtained, because records were not kept prior to 1766 [25], and then apparently, only the ranking pilots were listed. Were it an overstatement, as is possible, and Peter and James only sailors of the pilot boats and not ranking pilots, the question, probably, could not be settled.

CONTEMPORARY OBSERVATIONS ON YOUNG

Gregg's information, though from reliable authority, is still second hand, so dependence may be placed on the contemporary records of visitors to Hawaii who met and conversed with Young himself. Of these records nearly fifty exist and although fifteen of them are by Americans (eight from New England), not one of them lists Young as an American. Thirty-six refer to Young's nativity, and all but three make it specifically English. The exceptions identify him as British or Scottish. Of this group, eleven are American, nineteen British, four Russian and two French (Table I).

Originals or copies of nearly all these references are also available in libraries in New England—the home of most of the American authorities mentioned. Thus, the information being readily accessible, time and space will be saved by limiting the quotations to very few, and in general the opinions of Americans will be selected.

SOME CITATIONS

The fact is that the earliest record found so far is by an American from New England, Joseph Ingraham, commanding

the Boston brigantine *Hope*, who, be it noted, identified John Young as "an English man *born*." This terminology should be sufficiently specific to over-rule claims arising in later days in New England. Ingráham noted in his journal that on November 6, 1792, he met in the company of Captain James Magee of the

TABLE I

Identification as "English" or "English-born," or "British" of John Young of Hawaii by travellers of various nationalities who met him:

Date	AMERICANS—11
1792—	Ingraham of the <i>Hope</i> , of Boston.
1793—	Magee of the <i>Jefferson</i> , of Boston.
1795—	Boit of the <i>Union</i> , of Newport, R. I.
1798—	Townsend of the <i>Neptune</i> , of New Haven.
1807—	Iselin of the <i>Maryland</i> .
1809—	Little of the <i>Dromo</i> , of Boston.
1814—	Gamble of the <i>Hammond</i> .
1820—	Hunnewell of the <i>Thaddeus</i> , of Boston.
1823—30—	Three missionaries, Stewart, Bishop and Mrs. Judd.

BRITISH—19

1793—	Vancouver, Menzies, Manby and Bell.
1796—	Broughton of the <i>Providence</i> and Bishop of the <i>Ruby</i> .
1803—	Turnbull of the <i>Margaret</i> .
1809—	Alexander Campbell.
1811—	Alexander Ross; Gabriel Franchere.
1814—	Black of the <i>Raccoon</i> and Tucker of the <i>Cherub</i> .
1822—	Tyermann & Bennet.
1823—	Wm. Ellis.
1825—	Byron, Bloxam and Macrae of the <i>Blonde</i> .
1827—	Beechey of the <i>Blossom</i> .
1834—	Frederick D. Bennett.

RUSSIANS—4

1804—	Lisiansky of the <i>Neva</i> .
1816—	Scheffer (Russian-American Co.); Choris of the <i>Rurick</i> .
1818—	Golovnin of the <i>Kamchatka</i> .

FRENCH—2

1819—	Freycinet and Arago of the <i>Uranie</i> .
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Identification as "American" of John Young of Hawaii in contemporary records:

NOT FOUND.

Margaret "a white man whom the Natives detain'd on shore from the American snow *Elenora* about 4 years before he was an English man born Nam'd Jno Young he inform'd me he intended ending his days on the Island of Owwhyhee." The previous year Ingraham had heard of the captivity of several sailors on Hawaii island, where he met Young, and had tried to obtain their release [18].

The most detailed account of Young's detention was recorded three months after Ingraham's departure by the British naval officer, Vancouver, who made this note:

Tamaahmaah [Kamehameha] came on board in a very large canoe, accompanied by John Young, an English seaman, who appeared to be not only a great favourite, but to possess no small degree of influence with this great chief [36, p. 204].

Vancouver also states that John Young was "born at Liverpool" and acknowledged himself to be a "subject of Great Britain" [36, pp. 235, 258]. In his journal, Manby [22], one of Vancouver's officers, noted that Young was "a native of Lancashire," which the epitaph later confirmed.

By 1809, as shown in the list, six American traders and seamen had recorded John Young's English nationality. One of them, Iselin, in 1807, found Kamehameha absent from Hawaii island:

... in search of conquest of the other islands, appointing an Englishman of the name of Young for his viceroy during his absence. . . . we had the pleasure to see the Viceroy, Mr. Young, on board; in his suite I distinguished his lady, a niece of Tamaahmaah, who for looks and manners, appears much superior to any of the sex yet seen here; . . . Mr. Young is a respectable looking and appears a very sensible old man [19, pp. 65-6].

Between 1823 and 1830, three of the American missionaries made similar identification of Young. In 1825, Rev. Artemas Bishop wrote:

He is an Englishman by birth, but followed the sea for several years out of Philadelphia . . . His last voyage was in a ship trading to the N. W. Coast of America and from thence to Canton . . . [namely, the voyage which brought Young to Hawaii] . . . The above particulars I have just received from his mouth [3].

Two other records by Americans imply a distinctly anti-American attitude on the part of Chief John Young. One is by James Hunnewell, chief officer of the *Thaddeus* which brought the first American missionaries to Hawaii in 1820. His remarks

indicate that Young was regarded by the natives almost as the representative of the King of England:

John Young *to me*, at his own home, professed to be very glad that the missionaries had come among them to preach and to teach. He had got down his old bible, brushed the dust off, and I saw him reading it on my visit to his house, while awaiting the action of the Council of Chiefs, then assembled at Kailua. All the chiefs that I conversed with were alike rejoiced that the missionaries had come to teach them the *Palapala*. Impatient at the delay in giving them permission to land, I demanded of them (that is, the chiefs) the reason why they delayed the permission to land, when all professed to be glad they had come to teach them. The reply of the chiefs was that Olohana (John Young) in their councils objected, saying that King George would be *huhu* (displeased) if they allowed them to land, and was disposed to delay their landing until they could obtain the permission of King *Keorgie* [171].³

Porter [29] recording the capture of a British prize and its recapture by the warship *Cherub* under Tucker, transmits Gamble's report, as follows:

The next day [July 7, 1814], lieut. Gamble, by request, accompanied Captain Tucker on shore, and visited the king's house . . . Shortly after, a man, calling himself John Young, entered the royal mansion; and not aware that lieut. Gamble was an American, he gave Captain Tucker a very particular account of the ships of the United States, then in those seas . . . and appeared extremely anxious to place the property of the Americans in the hands of their enemy. This ungrateful man had resided more than twenty-five years on *Owyhee*, and during that period had received from the American traders, exclusively, upwards of ten thousand dollars in cash, for supplies. After going through with his narrative, lieut. Gamble thought proper to announce his real character; when the astonished ingrate, with shame upon his countenance, sneaked slyly out of the way.

Even allowing for Lieutenant Gamble's disturbed state of mind, references like the two preceding should abolish any idea that Chief John Young of Hawaii was American. On the other hand, it is Americans, and particularly those from New England, who say that John Young of Hawaii was "an Englishman by birth."

Yegor Scheffer, a German doctor representing the Russian-American Company of Alaska, who attempted to obtain possession of some of the Hawaiian Islands, was displeased with Chief Young. An article based on Russian documents recently translated states:

Despite the suspicion and intrigues of the white residents [of Hawaii] particularly of John Young, a British deserter who, according to Schef-

³ Hunnewell is alone in this opinion of Young who, according to the missionaries, was instrumental in obtaining permission for them to land, and then and subsequently always gave them his fullest support. The missionaries brought native interpreters with them from Boston and undoubtedly knew what was going on. Reasons might be found for Hunnewell's peculiar remarks.

fer, was worthy of no less than the gallows in his own country, . . . [23].

Since the American traders resident also opposed Scheffer, and their nationality was mentioned, the reference to Young as British is significant. However, Scheffer seems to have been lacking in gratitude. The Russian explorer Kotzebue arrived a few months later and recorded this remark:

This morai [temple] was very quickly erected, near Hana-rura, because the natives were obliged to destroy the old one, which had been profaned by the entrance of Scheffer's people. The fury of the natives was at that time without bounds; and Scheffer's servants would certainly have lost their lives, but for the interference of Young [20, I 334-5].

COMPARISON OF RECORDS

Adding now the claims of the New England families, we have John Young of Hawaii identified as with three different birthplaces and three sets of parents. Divergences are also to be found in the attributed ages. Grouped for comparison:

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Age at Death</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>
Lancashire, England	1743	92	Robert	Grace
Wellfleet, Mass.	1759	76	Jonathan	Rebecca Harding
Windham, Conn.	1763	72	John	Zerviah Huntington

The year 1743 used above is derived from the epitaph. Commissioner Gregg gave the date as 1744. Observers who met Young slightly vary the figures, many of which obviously were estimates, and that by Freycinet was copied from Vancouver:

Birth year of John Young of Hawaii as derived from information recorded by his acquaintances:

<i>Observer</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Calculated Birth Year</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Vancouver	1793	about 44	1749	
Shaler	1805	"a respectable old man"
Ross	1811	60	1751	"sinking under the in-
Chamisso	1817	firmitives of old age"
Choris	1817	"extremely enfeebled"
Freycinet	1819	70	1749	
Arago	1819	80	1739	
Choris	1822	83	1739	
Tyerman & Bennet	1822	78	1744	
Byron	1825	83	1742	
Bishop	1825	nearly 80	1745	
Beechey	1827	82	1745	
Range, 1739 to 1751;		Average	1745	
Date indicated on epitaph:			1743	

The fair agreement of these figures and the narrowness of the range beyond the mean of 1745 would indicate that the New England candidates, with well-authenticated birth years in 1759 and 1763 were different persons from Chief John Young. In addition, when three different birthplaces and three sets of parents are also assumably attributed to the same individual, an anomaly is created which calls for some solution. This may be furnished readily by the theory of "mistaken identity."

EVALUATION OF NEW ENGLAND CLAIMS

However, before discussing this point, the claims of the New England families should be evaluated, after first giving full heed to the warning in 1886 by a member of the Massachusetts family:

As to the identity of John Young [of Hawaii] with the lost David, it is thoroughly established by the evidence of many persons now living, who received it directly from the lips of ancestors whose intelligence, honesty, and veracity are beyond question [31, p. 36].

With some people, ancestors' words or opinions which have been treasured constitute authority vying with the highest truths, and to disprove such words or opinions needlessly would be unkind. But the theory of "mistaken identity" impugns no such qualities of the ancestors unless their descendants claim for them omniscience.

The fact remains that no written or printed word datable prior to 1850, namely, sixty years after Young's arrival in Hawaii, is found in the records preserved by the two families. Many errors and slips of memory may occur in that lapse of time. Moreover, the presence of certain errors, and the absence of information which relatives should have had, indicate that the conception of relationship with Chief John Young arose long after he settled in Hawaii and when histories began to take note of the prominence of himself and children. A few weak points of evidence might be discussed.

The forms of the names "Eleanor" and "Metcalf" given as those of Young's ship and captain should have been "Eleanora" and "Metcalf" were they contemporary records. The errors were initiated by Vancouver in 1793, and were subsequently caught up and repeated by all writing of the islands. Not until very recently (namely, 1916) were the errors corrected through the re-discovery of a letter written by Metcalfe himself [26].

Casting doubt on the Massachusetts claims is the fact that in the overwhelming mass of material offered as "proof" and reviewed by Restarick in Massachusetts, very important letters are missing: (1) The letter from David (assumed to be Chief John Young) to his aunt [31, p. 38]. (2) Letter, or letters, from Queen Emma or her representative [31, p. 33].

Constituting almost a denial that Queen Emma either knew or heard of relationship with the Massachusetts family is the statement by Miss Lucy Peabody, Queen Emma's very close companion in private and court life, and the daughter of her mother's foster sister. Her mother being the daughter of Isaac Davis and adopted daughter of John Young, her interest in the latter would not have lapsed. Miss Peabody stated that Queen Emma did not ever mention the Massachusetts family to her [31, p. 40].

On p. 21 above, mention is made that nearly fifty voyagers recorded their meeting with Young, and that while thirty-six of them identified him as British, none recognized him as American. Most of the American vessels in the Northwest American trade at that time were from New England, and in particular from Boston, and most of them called at the Hawaiian Islands—generally more than once. During the first fifteen years of Young's Hawaiian residence, 57 vessels left American ports for the Northwest. Of these, 37 were from Boston, 9 from Rhode Island, 2 from Connecticut and the others from New York, Philadelphia and Virginia [16; 16a]. In other words, 48 vessels were from New England, from points less than a hundred miles from Young's alleged American homes. Were the account true that Young belonged to New England and was reported massacred, was he likely to fail of recognition by New Englanders and have his preservation ignored both in the Boston newspaper and in the journals of the many Americans who met him?

A more difficult question for the New England claimants to answer concerns the existence of Young's first wife Namokuelua and the presence of their two sons Robert and James in America. Of these facts the Massachusetts and Connecticut families produce no records.

Iselin learned in 1807 that Young had already sent the two boys to the United States to be educated [19, p. 72]. Commissioner Gregg gives some particulars regarding the elder son [11]:

An older son Robert, born Feb. 14, 1796, was sent to Boston to be educated in 1802. He was in our naval service in the War of 1812; was taken prisoner in the battle on Lake Champlain & sent to Bermuda, since which time he has never been heard of.

Boston is about sixty miles from Wellfleet, Mass., in one direction, and from Windham Co., Conn., in another.

A note on James is that he "was born August 7, 1797. He left the Islands at the age of nine years and was a sailor for several years, visiting England and America" [32, p. 23]. As already indicated, the probability is that he sailed on Boston vessels, although his travels have not been traced.

Of Robert, however, more is known. A letter in the Archives of Hawaii, endorsed in Young's writing "A letter from Capt. Magee" is addressed as follows: "Mr John Young Resident on the Sandwich Islands to the Care of Either Mr Davis Capt Stewart or Mr Holms" It reads:

Canton Feby 10th 1804

Dear Sir,

I have sent you by Mr. Davis 20 pieces of Blue Nankeen, and two boxes of tea. I left your son Robert well in America about 6 months since he is at school and behaves very well I shall do everything for him that I promis'd you you may depend on it. I am very fond of him and shall take great care to make him a good man—Remember me to Stewart Davis & Holms when you see them & Believe me your

friend

Mr. John Young

James Magee

Captain James Magee, a ship owner of Boston who commanded his own vessels, was in Hawaiian waters with the ship *Margaret* in 1792 and 1793 [14], meeting John Young in 1792 [18]. Of him Morison notes in the *Maritime History of Massachusetts* that he was a prominent man in Boston and married into an old Puritan family [28, pp. 21, 48], but gives the date of his death as 1801—three years before the Canton letter was written. However, Howay points out that it was Captain Bernard Magee who was killed in 1801 [16a, p. 137]. The same authority also writes: "A letter from James Magee J^r. speaks of the death

of 'my uncle.' And I find Capt. James Magee sailing in November, 1804, for China in the ship *Mandarin*."

The "Holms" of the Canton letter was Oliver Holmes, who requested and received his discharge at Oahu from Magee of the *Margaret* in 1793.⁴ The signatures of the two letters show a marked similarity, yet vary sufficiently to indicate those of different people. Probably the Captain James Magee to whom John Young entrusted the care of his oldest son Robert was James Magee Jr.

The identity of the two captains Magee might be determined in Boston, and is not essential for the present article. It is sufficient to know, as is indicated, that they were both men of standing and kindly consideration and would certainly have acquainted the New England relatives of John Young with the presence of his oldest son in Boston, *if they were relatives*. But, as already shown, the existence of Young's first wife Namokue-lua, and of their two sons, seems to have been then unknown to the New England families. Why?

Continued evaluation of the New Englanders' claims would only depreciate them further, and is unnecessary because the references quoted previously show conclusively that Chief John Young was not only born in England, but that he retained his English sympathies until his death. The purpose of this article is not to ridicule the claims of honest people, as those of the New Englanders unquestionably are, but to correct them and to point out if possible how the erroneous impressions may have arisen.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY — MANY NAMED JOHN YOUNG

That several sailors named John Young may have left Atlantic ports for the Pacific about the same time is most credible, and denial of such is in no way intended. The name is very common. The latest directory of a small city like Honolulu lists thirteen of them! Therefore in support of the theory of mistaken identity, it is only necessary to search for three sailors named John Young, who were in or at Hawaii about the same time towards the close of the eighteen century.

⁴ The letter of discharge is preserved by Mr. Robert D. King, of Honolulu, a descendent of Holmes. The signature is in a different hand from the text.

As a matter of fact, the references indicate that in 1790-2 three sailors named John Young *were* at or in the Hawaiian Islands *for a certainty*; *probably* one more was present, and *possibly* a fifth. Listing them:

1. The Englishman, John Young, boatswain of the *Eleanora* and the Olohana of the Hawaiians already discussed; landing, March 1790, and remaining.

2. John Young of the schooner *Grace*, left with a companion by Captain Douglas on Kauai in August, 1790, to collect sandal wood. On May 26, 1791, Ingraham of the *Hope* found the two distressed on the island of Maui and took them off, receiving the following explanatory letter [18]:

These are to Certify that Jno Young and James Cox went on shore from the Schooner Grace (with leave from William Douglas Owner and Commander) to remain at Atooi [Kauai] till his return from Canton but as no man can forsee what accidents may happen in the course of such a voyage I have to request all Commanders that may come this way if the above mention'd Jno Young and James Cox requests a passage to Canton that it may be granted and the Obligation shall be return'd by Cap'n Douglas Atooi August 21 1790.

In his journal, Ingraham refers to John Young No. 2 as English, an identification regarded by a historical authority [8] as questionable. Ingraham wrongly identified the Welshman Isaac Davis as American. Had Young of the *Grace* been identified as "English-born" by Ingraham as he did John Young No. 1, it would have been definite. The *Grace* was British-owned, although said to be of American registry. This Young may have been American. As indicated, his residence in the Hawaiian Islands was from August 21, 1790 to May 26, 1791.

3. The third of the name is mentioned in the proceedings of the British vessel *Halcyon*, Captain Barkeley. In August, 1792, off the northwest coast of America, Barkeley had picked up a boat with four men (one named John Young) who claimed to belong to the American brig *Hancock*. They explained that while they were ashore, trading, the brig had been blown out to sea and had not returned [15, p. 25].

Off Hawaii, Barkeley met the American captains Magee and Ingraham, commanding the *Margaret* and *Hope* respectively. Magee was part owner of both vessels. Barkeley records [1]:

Nov. 8, 1792. I find from Capt. Maggee the people I have on board belonging to the Hancock are little better than Pirates. They engage to take two of them off my hands at Woahoo [Oahu].

Nov. 9, 1792 [At Oahu]. Sent John Young and Charles Burn, two of the Hancock's people, on board the American vessels.

Since these men belonged to one American vessel, and Magee's ships were also American, such was probably the nationality of this John Young No. 3.

4. When John Young No. 1, the boatswain of the *Eleanora*, went ashore and was detained by Kamehameha, he was visiting some resident Americans [18]. To hasten his return, the captain wrote [26]:

Eleanora off Owhyhe 22 March 1790

Sirs

As my Boatswain landed by your invitation, if he is not returned to the Vessel consequences of an unpleasant nature may follow, (to distress a Vessel in these Seas is an affair of no small magnitude) if your Word be the law of Owhyhe as you have repeatedly told me there can be no difficulty in doing me justice in this Business, otherwise I am possessed of sufficient powers to take ample revenge, which it is your duty to make the head Chief acquainted with

To

Messrs

S. I. Thomas

I. Ridler

Js. Mackey

John Young

I am Gentlemen

Yours &c. &c.

Simon Metcalfe

If Cartwright's identification [8] of the third addressee, Mackey, be correct, namely the M'Key of the *Imperial Eagle*, then the identification of the other three will be simplified. Kendrick, of the *Lady Washington*, had placed three men on Hawaii island, towards the end of 1789. After the *Eleanora* episode, they had been maltreated by the Hawaii chiefs and tried to get away. Two of them escaped on the *Grace* and left for China. The third was Isaac Ridler who freed himself from the Hawaii chiefs, and went over to their enemies in the leeward islands, and was later taken off by Ingraham [18]. This same Ridler was also Ingraham's informant on the Hawaii activities. It would thus appear that the two men removed by the *Grace* were S. I. Thomas and John Young, Americans, landed by the *Lady Washington* from Boston.

If, on the other hand, Mackey was one of the *Lady Washington's* men, the possibility of the identification offered for this

John Young is lessened, but suggests consideration of the idea that No. 4 may have been placed ashore for trading purpose by Metcalfe on a previous visit. Several references are made (see p. 35 below) to such visit and Barnard (a questionable authority however) has it that the *Eleanora's* appearance at Hawaii in 1790 was her third, and refers to the cordial relations previously established with the natives. No. 4, then, could be identified as one of the missing relatives from New England. Otherwise, the fourth addressee of the letter may have been the boatswain himself, who became the John Young of Hawaii.

The identification of John Young No. 4, (possibly removed from Hawaii by the *Grace*) with John Young No. 2, (placed on Kauai by the same schooner) seems highly improbable, unless the unhappy experiences described by Ridler on Hawaii were too soon forgotten [18].

5. Yet another John Young is mentioned. Commissioner Gregg, in the letter quoted above, included these remarks:

Through Dr. Rooke I have obtained some scanty information which may probably afford a clue to the fate of the John Young about whom you inquire.

It appears that about the period the John Young of the *Eleanor* was captured on Hawaii, another person of the same name resided on the Island of Oahu. The latter wrote a letter to the former inviting him to come to Oahu. As escape was attempted but defeated through the vigilance of Kamehameha & his chiefs.

This possibility is the least promising, since the Oahu John Young was very likely No. 2. Left on Kauai by the *Grace* and taken off Maui by the *Hope*, he would undoubtedly have stopped on Oahu when passing from Kauai to Maui.

Rejection by the New Englanders of the identification of Nos. 2 and 3 as the missing relatives, and insistence on their presence on the *Eleanor* or *Eleanora*, call for other solutions. One would be the immediate rejection of the Massachusetts claim on the clear evidence of mistaken identity in the vessel or her voyage.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY OF VESSEL

The Massachusetts candidate is placed as boatswain on the *Eleanor*, Captain Metcalf, which left Newburyport, Mass., in 1789. This vessel was *not* the *Eleanora*, Captain Metcalfe, from New York on which John Young of Hawaii was boatswain, and

which *during the whole of 1789* was in the Pacific region (see below). She left the Atlantic coast in 1787. Thus, either two vessels with somewhat similar names were in existence about the same time (as is possible), or the references are to two different voyages of the same vessel.

TRACING THE NEW ENGLAND RELATIVES

On the other hand, if reference to the year 1789 be erroneous and the *Eleanora*, departing in 1787, be assumed to carry many of the name of Young, a solution of the problem of their disposal may be reached tentatively by following her adventures and those of her personnel. Much of the data given below was generously furnished by Judge F. W. Howay, the noted historical authority specializing on early voyages to Northwest America:

Townsend's note of 1797 on the recently inaugurated American sealing industry is to the effect that 13,000 sealskins from Falkland Islands were sold in New York and

... were afterwards shipped to Calcutta and thence to Canton by Capt. Metcalf from New York, who started from New York about the same time that Capt. Kendrick started from Boston [namely, October 1, 1787].⁵ They are afterwards in the Northwest Coast trade from Canton, and made very great voyages with their sea-otter skins [35, p. 3.]

The date of arrival in India is not noted but was prior to April 9, 1788. On that day Shaw, an American consul, met two officers from Metcalfe's *Eleanora* at Madras. Owing to some disagreement they had left the vessel at Calcutta [30, p. 285]. Shaw's consulate was at Canton.

The East India Company at Canton reported the arrival on August 12, 1788, of the American brig *Eleanora*, Captain Simon Metcalf, from Bengal via Batavia; "She left America last season" [10].

Shaw, returning to Canton on November 15, 1788, and noting an advice that Kendrick's vessels had reached the Northwest Coast, continued:

In addition to all these there is a brig called the Eleonora, Captain Metcalf, from New York, which on common principles ought to have

⁵ Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to ascertain the exact date of the *Eleanora's* departure. A member of the Massachusetts family received a reply that the records did not extend back that far [31, p. 37]. Judge Howay found this to be the case with the Newburyport records. Those of New York covered the period, but certain sections were missing. Since Young told Bishop that he "followed the sea for several years out of Philadelphia," the *Eleanora's* departure may have been from that port.

finished her voyage there last June. With a cargo of furs, instead of coming directly to China, the last season, Captain Metcalf went to the coast of Coromandel, Bengal and thence to Batavia, from which place he arrived early the present season, among the islands in the neighborhood of Macao. There he remained, sending his furs to Canton, to Mr. Beale, as he could find occasion, by other ships, till some time in December [1788], when he was boarded by a gang of ladrones, Chinese thieves, living among those islands, and had two of his officers killed before he could beat them off [30, p. 295].

The same authority, listing the shipping as of January 20, 1789, reported: "American brig Eleonora in neighborhood of Macao."

The New York Daily Advertiser of May 19, 1789, refers to the pirates' attack near Macao, and on June 9, 1789 to a report of about January 21 from Canton that "The Eleonora of this port was fitting for a country voyage." The issue of June 17 contains another report from Canton of about January 25 that the "brig Eleanor, Capt. Metcalfe, had proceeded on a voyage to Kamschatka for the purpose of getting a cargo of furs, . . ."

The next reference [13] is that on June 5, 1789, the *Eleanora* left Macao for the Northwest Coast in company with a small schooner named *Fair American* which Metcalfe had purchased and placed under the command of his eldest son. Isaac Davis was the mate. The total number on board was five or six. Both vessels were seen on the Northwest Coast in October, 1789, and probably arrived in September. By January or February, 1790, both were at the Hawaiian Islands.

While in China, apparently, Metcalfe discharged most of his American crew. At Hawaii, Vancouver learned that the *Eleanora* in 1790 was "navigated by ten Americans⁶ and forty-five Chinese, or other inhabitants of that country" [36, p. 227]. One of the *Eleanora's* officers clarified the statement by explaining that "the crew were all Portuguese or Manilla men" [9]. Macao is and was a Portuguese settlement in China.

At the Hawaiian Islands, Metcalfe lost several men. Off Maui, a sailor was murdered—variously described as "a Manilla man" and a Portuguese. In revenge, Metcalfe murdered a hundred natives and wounded as many more without injuring the

⁶ This passage, limiting the personnel to "Americans" and "Chinese" is used as affirmation of the American birth of Young [38]. Vancouver's account was published after his death and his MS has been lost, so that editorial changes cannot now be ascertained. However, since in the account (p. 23 above) Young is also said to be "English . . . born at Liverpool" and still a "subject of Great Britain," we may understand that, in the passage, the editor referred to the ports at which the personnel shipped.

culprits. Off Hawaii, the *Fair American* was captured and all on board killed, except Davis. The action was independent of the Maui affair. On March 17, 1790, the *Eleanora's* boatswain, Young, was taken. Metcalfe left for China, it is understood, and although his return to Hawaii was anticipated by Young and Davis [24], he was not again seen at these islands.

From March, 1790 to January 16, 1792, the movements of Metcalfe are unknown. He may have made another trip to the Northwest Coast [16, p. 121] or he may have returned to the Atlantic coast and shipped a crew at Newburyport—there was time enough. On January 16, 1792, Bartlett shipped as gunner on the *Eleanora* at Macao, which port she left on the following day for Mauritius, arriving there in March [13, pp. 35 ff].

In September, 1792, the *Eleanora* left Mauritius for Kerguelen's Land, calling in at Madagascar where some natives were killed and arriving at her destination about the end of November. She left to return on January 12, 1793, and reached Mauritius prior to March 17, 1793.

In 1794, Metcalfe was on the Northwest Coast, assumably with the *Eleanora*, and at Queen Charlotte Islands, he, his second son and all his crew except one man were massacred by the Haida Indians [13, pp. 38-9].

The foregoing information seems to be well authenticated, but it records only one visit to the Hawaiian Islands, namely, at the beginning of 1790, and one trip to the Northwest Coast before that year. According to some accounts, there were others (italization added):

Referring to the *Fair American* leaving Macao on June 5, 1789, Boit remarked: "It appeared that Captain Metcalfe had purchased this small vessel at Macao *after his arrival* at that port in the *Elenora from the N W Coast* and did there fit her with the Snow for the Coast again. . . ." [4].

Of the Metcalfe killed at Hawaii, Townsend related that "*Having visited the islands before*, young Metcalfe placed too much confidence in them [the natives], not reflecting there was no law to protect him. . . ." [35].

Barnard's very spectacular account [2] has it that Captain Metcalfe called at the islands three times; first en route to

the Northwest Coast, again on the crossing to China, and again on the way from China to America—as stated—when Young was captured in 1790. While Barnard's information is frequently unreliable, Townsend's remarks that Metcalfe and Kendrick "made several successful voyages from Canton to the [American Northwest] coast. . . ." might serve in part as corroboration.

The statements may have been mere assumptions, because the usual route then from the United States to the American northwest coast was via Cape Horn, and ships generally called at the Hawaiian Islands. The route to India was via Cape of Good Hope. If the *Eleanora* left New York about October 1, 1787 for India and arrived before April, 1788, the time elapsed indicates that she must have followed the regular route to India. A reconciliation of the statements must await other information.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

The traditions of the New England families agree on several points: (1) Their relative left an Atlantic port on the *Eleanor* (*Eleanora*), and (2) did not return, but (3) was reported massacred, (4) by the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands natives, and (5) later was found to have survived and become an important man. Correlating them with the *Eleanora's* proceedings:

The first point needs no comment. For the second, two officers left the *Eleanora* in India, and almost the entire crew was discharged at Macao in 1788. Another change was made at the same port in 1792. The record is clear that Metcalfe was brutal.

For the third point, massacre, two officers were killed at Macao in 1788, and in 1794 the ship's entire complement except one man, was massacred at Queen Charlotte Islands by the Haida people. For the fourth point, massacres at the Hawaiian Islands in 1790 were both ways, of the natives by Metcalfe, and of his son and several of his men by the natives.

Add to these well authenticated references the probable unreported losses from the vessel through desertions, discharges or killings in foreign ports, and the failure of the young New Englanders to return home may be readily understood.

As for the fifth point—the incidents relating to the *Eleanora* and the detention of her boatswain, John Young, were widely

publicized soon after the occurrences, and became stock stories for record by nearly every arrival in Hawaii who kept a journal or wrote a book. Thus it would be most natural for a family named Young, whose relative failed to return from the Pacific region about that period, to identify him with the widely known John Young or Olohana, a Chief of Hawaii.

CONCLUSION

It is submitted that the evidence is clearly against the identification of either of the New England candidates as Chief John Young of Hawaii; furthermore, that the latter was born in England is obvious. At the same time, no denial may justifiably be made that either of the New England families were related to Chief Young at some point in their ancestral lines—a question remote from the subject discussed. If the asserted resemblance of Chief Young to the member of the Massachusetts family were real, it might be an indication of community of ancestry yet to be traced by those interested.

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CAPTAIN HENRY BARBER OF BARBER'S POINT

By Judge F. W. Howay

The name, Barber's Point, is almost as familiar, though not as famous, as that of Diamond Head. The visitor to Honolulu remembers it as standing in apposition to Diamond Head and especially because of the marked difference between them—the one, low-lying, the other crater-like.

Barber's Point, called by the natives Laeloa, is named after Captain Henry Barber, as everyone knows. But who was this eponymous Barber? What was he doing here? And what do we know about him? The purpose of this paper is to attempt to answer these questions, so far as his life in the Pacific is concerned.

In 1793 he made his first venture to the Northwest Coast of America. Leaving Bengal in command of the British brig *Arthur*, he sailed to Australia, probably with supplies for sale in the penal colony at Port Jackson (Sydney), which had only been established in 1787 and was for years in constant need of food and clothing, or it may be to purchase seal-skins—the sealing industry there having just begun. From Australia the *Arthur* went to the Northwest Coast to engage in the sea-otter trade. When she reached that coast is not known; but in July, 1794, whilst Captain George Vancouver with his ships *Discovery* and *Chatham* was lying at anchor in Cross Sound, Alaska, a sail was descried in the offing. It was supposed to be the *Jackall*, and a boat was immediately sent to render any necessary assistance.

At three the next morning, Tuesday the 15th, the boat returned from the vessel, which was found to be a brig named the *Arthur*, commanded by a Mr. Barber, belonging to Bengal, but last from Port Jackson. At noon she anchored in this port, off the island forming its western side, to the south of the station we had taken. The Indians were as usual about our vessels, busily employed in commercial dealings; but on the arrival of this vessel, I thought it proper to prohibit the purchase of furs by any of our people.¹

¹ Vancouver's *Voyage*, 1801 ed. V, 411.

While the *Arthur* remained in Cross Sound one of her crew, a boy named Charles Lee, deserted. After she sailed on 23rd July, he came on board the *Discovery*. Where he had hidden is not known, nor why he left the brig: whether to try life in "the King's navee" for mere variety or because of his treatment by Captain Barber. The only information is: "Charles Lee, a boy, that ran from the *Arthur*, mustered into the ship's company."²

Though the Boston newspapers contain many items regarding the trade and trading vessels on the coast in 1794, they do not mention the *Arthur*. Vancouver is the sole source of information; and he is not, it must be admitted, over-communicative. At any rate the *Arthur* left the coast at the end of the season of 1794, probably about the last of September, for China. She followed the usual route by way of the Hawaiian Islands, arriving there "toward the close of 1794." Having obtained the necessary supplies Captain Barber continued his course to Canton.

The next we hear of Captain Henry Barber and the brig *Arthur* is in January, 1796. He is again bound for the Northwest Coast and is following the same route as in his first voyage. Péron, who arrived at Sydney, Australia, on January 24, 1796, writes: "Le capitaine Barba, commandant le brick *l'Arthur*, était arrivé de Macao au Port-Jackson presque en même temps que nous."³

Sometime prior to February 18, 1796, Barber left Sydney for the coast. He probably reached Nootka Sound by about the middle of May following. He appears to have traded around Queen Charlotte Islands and the southern Alaskan coast. On 26th September when the Boston brig *Otter*, on which Péron was, reached Nootka Sound, Maquinna, the head chief of the vicinity, came on board accompanied by an English sailor whom, by his own request it was said, Captain Barber had left there. The seaman told a weird story about his being afraid to face the dangers of the long homeward voyage and his desire to be left on that savage coast. Péron, doubtless, believed that he had deserted from the *Arthur*. His remarks show that Barber had

² T. Aisley Browne, MS Log of the *Discovery*, July 27, 1794. Copy in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.

³ Péron's *Memoires*, Paris, 1824, I, 254.

traded in southern Alaska and along Queen Charlotte Islands' coast; and that the sailor had lived with Maquinna for some time before Péron's arrival. But, perhaps, it will be better to quote Péron's words:

Makouina était accompagné d'un matelot anglais que le capitaine Barba, commandant du brick *l'Arthur*, dont j'avais fait le connaissance au port Jackson, avait laissé sur cette côte; cet homme nous dit qu'effrayé de la longueur et des difficultés du voyage, il avait, de son plein gré, quitté son bâtiment. Malgré ces explications assez vagues, il fut reçu à bord; il nous apprit qu'un bâtiment que nous avions vu dans le golfe de Mirze⁴ et que M. Dorr s'était obstiné à éviter était le *Sic-Otter* Il nous raconta qu'il n'avait eu qu'à se louer des procédés de Makouina à son égard; qu'il lui avait été fourni de la viande et du poisson autant qu'il en pouvait désirer; qu'il n'avait éprouvé ni injures ni menaces de la part des Indiens que cependant il s'était toujours tenu avec eux dans une certaine défiance, et qu'il ne s'était jamais écarté de la cabane de Makouina.⁵

From this quotation it is inferred that the *Arthur* had been at Nootka Sound some weeks previous to Péron's visit, probably early in September. Moreover she was, doubtless, then about to return to China, by way of "the islands." The usual time occupied in the passage from the coast to the Hawaiian Islands was between three and four weeks. When Captain Barber actually reached Oahu and whether he first called at Hawaii to visit John Young at Kawaihae and Kamehameha at Kailua is not known. It is, however, quite likely, for it was the usual course. Young, it seems, was at Waikiki when the *Arthur* reached Honolulu, toward the end of October, 1796.

Captain Barber spent some days in obtaining refreshments for the voyage to China. He appears to have been quite leisurely in his movements, as shown by his conduct on the Northwest Coast; and it was not until the 31st October that he was ready to leave Honolulu. Even then he purposed to call at Kauai for further provisions, probably yams. The *Arthur* sailed from Honolulu at six o'clock in the evening of that day. About ten minutes past eight she struck on a coral shoal, two leagues from the southwest point of what was then called Waikiki Bay (now known as Mamala Bay), the stretch of water between Diamond Head and Barber's Point. The shoal is described as being about an acre in extent, having twelve feet of water upon it, and not above half a mile from the reef that lines the shore. This de-

⁴ Cordova Bay in southern Alaska.

⁵ Péron's *Memoires*, II, 96f.

scription places the scene of the wreck somewhere slightly to the westward of the entrance to Pearl Harbor. How the *Arthur* happened to be so close in to the shore on an October night, and especially as the account states that "a light breeze from the land blew at the time" remains a mystery. At any rate she cleared the shoal, and, driven by the heavy swell, was "in a short time hove within the breakers," a wreck. Every sea broke over her, sweeping her deck clean. Captain Barber and his crew of twenty-two men took to the boats. Six of them were drowned. Captain Barber and the survivors succeeded in reaching the shore, some distance to the westward, near Barber's Point.⁶

The next morning when Barber returned to the wrecked *Arthur* he found there John Young, who happened to be on Oahu at the time and, learning of the disaster, hurried to the scene, to take charge of the efforts to salvage the cargo. As a result, the greater part of the sea-otter skins and the brig's stores were saved. The wreck having broken up, Captain Barber and some of the survivors went with Young to Hawaii. There the services of the King's schooner were obtained to carry the remaining survivors and the salvaged goods to Hawaii, where they arrived on 27th November, 1796.

Péron, who reached Hawaii late in the following December, bears witness to the unstinting aid given by the Hawaiians to Captain Barber, and their uniform kindness to him in his distress. He says:

"Le capitaine Barba. . . . avait fait naufrage sur un des écueils qui bord l'île de Wohoo. Une partie de son équipage et sa cargaison avaient été sauvés; dans son malheur, secours de tout genre et protection avaient été généreusement accordés. Les naturels s'étaient empressés de venir à son aide; ils avaient recueilli les débris du naufrage. Le capitaine Barba était resté parmi eux, dans son isolement, lorsqu'il n'avait aucun moyen de résistance, ses marchandises avaient été respecté."⁷

Nothing further is heard of Captain Barber until the year 1801. How he reached China is unknown; nor has the fate of his salvaged furs been ascertained. It is, however, probable that he and the survivors of his crew took passage to China on some of the Boston vessels, for they all called at "the islands" on their

⁶ The above account is condensed from *The Friend*, June, 1862, p. 13. It appears to have been obtained from Captain Barber himself. For the identifications I am indebted to Mr. Orr, of the U.S. Hydrographic Office, Honolulu. See also additional note at end of paper.

⁷ Péron's *Memoires*, Paris, 1824, II, 154.

voyage from the coast to China; and that his furs were taken by one of them as freight. This is mere surmise, based upon the conditions; for despite research no reference to the matter has been found.

In the year 1801, Barber was again trading on the Northwest Coast in a British ship from Macao, China. There is an odd circumstance regarding the name of his vessel; in the Boston newspapers⁸ she is invariably called the *Cheerful*, but in the Russian accounts his ship always bears the name *Unicorn*. His first season being unsuccessful, Barber wintered on the coast.⁹

In June, 1802, Captain Barber in the *Unicorn* or *Cheerful* lay in the harbour of Sitka, where three years before, the Russian American Company had established a trading post. Unfortunately in its operation they had paid no regard to the economic importance of sea-otter hunting to the Tlingit Indians of the vicinity and had imported Aleuts with their kayaks for that purpose. This so angered the Tlingits that they resolved to make short work of both Russians and Aleuts. On June 20, 1802, without warning, they swooped down on Sitka, weakened by the absence of many of its people. The struggle was short and bloody. Soon Sitka was merely ashes and cinders. The survivors fled for their lives; some of them found safety with Barber on the *Unicorn* or *Cheerful*, whichever her name was. With these refugees—three Russians, five Aleuts, and eighteen women and children—he sailed to Kodiak, the nearest Russian settlement. For his services he is said to have demanded 50,000 rubles; but in the end he accepted 10,000 rubles, payable in furs. Moreover, it is alleged that Barber further “feathered his nest” by inducing the Tlingit chiefs on board his vessel and retaining them until by force and fear he obtained from them 2,700 sea-otter skins, a portion of their loot. Here it seems well to give the Russian version of his conduct. For this translation and for much assistance in the Russian side of this paper I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Clarence L. Andrews, of Seattle, Wash.

The captives were not put ashore by Barber; but, mounting on board 20 guns and arming his people, he gave notice to Baranof that although

⁸ See, for example, *Boston Gazette*, July 8, 1802; *Columbia Centinel*, July 3, 1802.

⁹ Bancroft's *History of Alaska*, p. 408.

he belonged to a nation making war with Russia, through pity to humanity he had bought the poor people from the hands of the barbarians, dressed and fed them, and, leaving all his trade operations, had brought them to him (Baranof); and therefore in compensation for all this loss, he demanded fifty thousand rubles ready money or in furs at a price to be named by him. On the contrary Baranof knew that Barber not only did not pay any ransom for the captives, but, on their statements, seizing the chief actors in the destruction of Sitka—the toyons (chiefs) Skawlelt and his nephew Kotlean, placed them in irons and threatened to hang them on the yard arm. By these means the tender hearted Barber procured a considerable number of the plundered sea-otter skins taken from the settlement; and his expense was only the clothes and food for the captives on the way, which continued less than a month. The absurdity of such a demand, in conjunction with the kindness and war threats, put Baranof into a very difficult position. Not fearing the threats, he with firmness rejected the dishonest demands of the Briton, and on his side took defensive measures such as his situation permitted. In preparing to resist Baranof, however, carried on negotiations about ransoming the captives; and remaining inflexible to the proposition of Barber, finally decided to pay him a ransom of ten thousand rubles in furs. On delivery of this and payment to the captain with a receipt, the people were received from him.¹⁰

At the close of the season of 1802 Captain Barber sailed for China, following the regular course by way of the Hawaiian Islands. He reached Honolulu, as appears from Turnbull's *Voyage*, pp. 199, 239, about the 17th of December. There he heard that a state of war existed between Great Britain and Russia. The information was incorrect; what was meant was that the anti-British attitude of Paul I had strained the relations between the two countries to the verge of war. His assassination in 1801 and Nelson's victory at Copenhagen ended the Armed Neutrality and the threat of war. But it took the news many moons to seep through to these, then, far-away islands. If Count Nicholas von Resanof is to be relied on the false news of war set a wild scheme a-germanating in Barber's brain. Resanof says:

Then on his return to the Sandwich Islands he was informed about the beginning of the English war, and tore his hair in disappointment that, seeing the weakness of the company, he did not grasp the spoil which he saw at Kodiak and did not take. At that time all the furs shipped by the Elizabeth¹¹ lay in the fur store houses and were concealed from him; but although he was entirely ignorant of that, he wished to sail from the Sandwich Islands for booty. However, to the good fortune of the company, the differences with his companion Luders

¹⁰ Kyril Khlebnikof, *Zhizneopisanie Aleksander Andreevicha Baranova*; Sankt Peterburg, 1835, pp. 69ff. Translation by Clarence A. Andrews, Seattle, Wash.

¹¹ The *Elizabeth*, according to Bancroft's *History of Alaska*, p. 418, carried in 1803, the most valuable cargo ever sent home to Russia, consisting of 17,000 sea-otter skins in addition to land furs, and amounting to not less than 1,200,000 rubles.

on the ship, and the news about peace meantime being sent up secretly, prevented it.¹²

At this time Resanof is believed to have been in St. Petersburg, thousands of miles distant; and who can tell through how many lips (and some, perhaps, hostile) the story had passed *en route* from Hawaii to Von Resanof?

But Barber had other matters in mind besides this wild scheme of private war whilst he was at Honolulu. He learned that Kamehameha had a battery of ten guns placed for the defence of his newly-built palace at Lahaina, Maui, with its brick walls and glazed windows. Enquiry showed that these guns had formed part of the armament of his wrecked brig *Arthur*, and that they had been recovered by the perseverance of the King's expert swimmers who had found them, brought them to land, and to their present situation. He demanded them from Kamehameha; as well might he have asked the cannon themselves. The King was adamant. They had been salvaged after much exertion and risk. They had been about six years in his possession. Kamehameha remembered the old adage (or whatever was the Hawaiian equivalent) that possession is nine parts of the law; so Barber took nothing by his motion and his visit to Maui. But further, Kamehameha not only refused to restore the guns, but also would not admit that his possession of them entitled Barber to what might be called "best-favoured-individual" treatment. He knew that Barber had two barrels of gun-powder on board his ship *Unicorn* or *Cheerful*. He needed arms and ammunition to carry out his plans of conquest of the leeward islands. He had supplies; Barber needed them. Barber had gun-powder; Kamehameha needed it. Nothing but the gun-powder would be accepted in payment for the supplies. It was a case of irresistible force and immovable object. Though Barber could drive a hard bargain with the Russian, he found his superior in Kamehameha. The deadlock ended by Barber's getting the supplies and the King, the powder. Barber sailed from "the islands," probably, late in December; a month later he reached China.¹³

¹² Extract from a letter of Nicholas Resanof, in P. Tikhmenef's *Istoricheskoe Obozryenie Obrazovaii Rossiisko-Amerikanskoi Kolonii*, Sankt Peterburg, 1861 (Sketch Historical of the Russian-American Colony), Appendix to Part II, p. 208. Translation by Clarence L. Andrews.

¹³ The statements in this paragraph are condensed from Turnbull's *Voyage*, 2nd ed., London, 1813, pp. 223, 238. They are not to be found in the 1st (3 vol.) ed., 1805.

From January, 1803, Barber's movements are obscured until May, 1807, when he is again on the Northwest Coast in command of the British ship *Myrtle*, lying at anchor at St. Paul on the island of Kodiak.¹⁴ It seems plain, as will appear later, that he had arrived on the coast in the preceding year and had traded and wintered there. Baranof, the astute manager of the Russian-American Company, had no warm or friendly feelings for him; the remembrance of his unscrupulous conduct in 1802 still rankled and rumours, now known to be false, circulated that he had actually instigated the massacre at Sitka. But Baranof required ships—so great were the losses by wreck—and he especially needed cannon, fire-arms, and ammunition. The *Myrtle* arrived at the psychological moment. Baranof, stomaching his personal resentments, entered into negotiations for the purchase of ship and cargo. The price finally agreed upon was 42,000 piastres or Spanish dollars. The sale included furs to the amount of 8,500 piastres, "obtained by Barber in the straits of the Northwest Coast of America"; "rum, sugar, and other things" to the value of 16,000 piastres; and twelve guns: "four of 12 pound calibre, four 4-pounders, and the remainder one-pound falconets" valued at about 2,000 piastres.¹⁵ These figures make the value placed on the *Myrtle* about 15,000 piastres or Spanish dollars, a very high price, and 16,000 piastres was certainly far more than the trading goods then remaining were worth. Barber seems to have shaved Baranof pretty close; but the best time to sell is when the other man must buy.

Baranof changed the name of the *Myrtle* to the *Kodiak*. Under that name she sailed from Sitka on March 24, 1816, in connection with Scheffer's schemes on Kauai.¹⁶ According to the Russian report the ship reached Honolulu in safety, but "owing to a strong current she upset in the Harbour."

A few words will complete the story of Barber so far as the western part of the Pacific is concerned. Baranof was in a predicament. The war then in progress in Europe drained him of experienced Russian officers, to command his vessels. Necessity is imperious. He employed Barber and made him master of

¹⁴ Bancroft's *History of Alaska*, pp. 461f.

¹⁵ Tikhmenef, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 229. Translation by Clarence L. Andrews.

¹⁶ Khlebnikof, *Zhizneopisanie*, etc., ante, (note 10) p. 162, 163, 167; R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, p. 57.

the brig *Sitka*, for a voyage from Sitka to Okhotsk with a cargo of furs. The brig after leaving Unalaska was forced "by fresh opposite winds" to put into Kamchatka where she arrived late in the autumn of 1807. There the *Sitka* discharged her furs and loaded goods to the value of 100,000 rubles, brought from Canton and Okhotsk for sale in Nizhe Kamchatsk. But on going out of the river she grounded on a bank, fell over on her side and became a total loss. Barber and the crew were saved; but almost all the cargo was lost. And so we leave Captain Henry Barber shipwrecked on Kamchatka River early in 1808. His subsequent movements do not concern us at this time.

In conclusion I may, perhaps, be permitted to say something regarding the sort of man Captain Barber appears to be in the thirteen years he spent in the maritime trade, 1794-1807. On the Northwest Coast he lost two men, that we know of, by desertion—how many more we do not know: one, a mere boy, on his first voyage, the other a seaman, on his second. We have no information concerning the other two voyages. It was natural enough for sailors to desert in the lotus-eaters' islands of Hawaii; but when they deserted on the savage coast of Northwest America, *prima facie* there was in the words of Hamlet "Something rotten in the state of Denmark." Again, his conduct in demanding 50,000 rubles for carrying the survivors of the *Sitka* massacre to Kodiak leaves a nasty taste in the mouth. The Russians charged him with seducing an Indian chief on board the *Arthur* near Sitka in 1796, putting him in irons, and threatening him until he produced all his sea-otter skins as ransom. Similar conduct, it is true, was alleged against other maritime traders; though that does not help Barber. We, unfortunately, have not heard his defence. He drove a very hard bargain with Baranof on the sale of the *Myrtle*. Kamehameha was the only person, so far as we know, that held his own against him. He lost the *Arthur* at Barber's Point in 1796, and the *Sitka* in Kamchatka River in 1808; but there were no charts of these localities at those times.

Making all liberal allowances and bearing in mind that we have heard only one side of the stories, it would seem about accurate to describe him as tyrannical, unscrupulous, and over-reaching; but at the same time a good navigator as his four

voyages to and fro over the Pacific would show. I take the liberty, further, of surmising that he was a trifle over fond of the bottle.

F. W. HOWAY

Honolulu, January 21, 1939.

EDITORIAL NOTES (pp. 41-42), Judge Howay requests the inclusion of the local information given below:

"Waikiki Bay," "Mamala Bay." Both names are applications by foreigners, and not natives, to the bay bounded by Diamond Head and Barber's Point. "Waikiki Bay" was due to the early foreign voyagers who landed, or received their supplies, at Waikiki village. "Mamala Bay" found on the U. S. chart, while convenient, must have been so placed by the Hydrographic Office. It was definitely the Hawaiian name for the entrance to (but not the channel of) Honolulu harbor and part of the sea in the immediate vicinity.

No native general name for the bay has been recorded, and probably there was none. Waikiki is the name of a large native estate or *ahupuaa* at one end of the bay, and since such properties included the sea fronting them, "Waikiki Bay" (were the name used by early Hawaiians) would have been limited by the extent of the *ahupuaa*. Seven other estates, forming parts of two districts, also faced on the bay. The names of all, in order, are: Waikiki, Honolulu, Kapalama, Kalihi, Kahauiki and Moanalua in Kona district, and Halawa and Honouliuli in Ewa district. Thus the name "Waikiki" could hardly have extended to the other estates, and less likely to another district.

Within the estates were successive subdivisions in land and sea under their own names, some of which are still remembered. A few, recognizable by certain characteristics, are listed in the Chant of Kualii, as translated by Fornander [Polynesian Race, II, 390]:

A sea for surf-swimming is Kahaloa

[Waikiki]

A sea for net-fishing is Kalia

[Subdivision of Waikiki]

A sea for going naked is Mamala

[Mouth, Honolulu harbor]

A sea for swimming is Kapuuone
[? Kapalama or Kalihi]

A sea for surf-swimming sideways is Makaiwa
[? Kapalama or Kalihi]

A sea for catching *anae* is Keehi
[Moanalua]

A sea for crabs is Leleiwi
[Moanalua]

This and many other traditional references make it clear that the extent of Mamala was very limited, and was not applied by the natives to the whole bay.

The probable cause of the *Arthur's* stranding is explained at the local hydrographic office. While the oceanic current through the group is due west in October, nevertheless it follows the shore line on entering the bay. Thus, the *Arthur* might easily have been borne inshore by the current, despite the slight land breeze. Then, diverted from her course, the lowness of the land for several miles back of Barber's Point would make it difficult at night for the watch to detect the danger, even were he on the alert.

PROFESSOR JOHN HENRY ANDERSON
 "THE WIZARD OF THE NORTH"
 AT HONOLULU IN 1859.

FOREWORD

JOHN HENRY ANDERSON (1815-1874) was one of the best-known conjurers or exponents of legerdemain of the nineteenth century. He went by the title "Professor Anderson, Wizard of the North," (plate II).

In the course of his long and varied career he made a professional tour round the world, accompanied by his wife and family. After spending a successful year and four months in Australia, he decided to continue on his way by visiting California. For that purpose he engaged passages for self and family by the American ship *Milwaukee*, Captain Rhoades, which sailed from Melbourne, Victoria, bound for San Francisco. Professor Anderson bargained with Captain Rhoades that the ship should stop for eight days at Honolulu, thus allowing him an opportunity to give some of his magical performances in that city.

The *Milwaukee* arrived at Honolulu on 1st November, 1859 and Anderson had time for several entertainments while there. During his travels round the world, Anderson contributed to a hometown newspaper, the *Aberdeen Herald*, Scotland, a series of letters giving his experiences in various parts of the world. In the following pages are reprinted that portion of his letters, somewhat condensed, which treats of his visit to Honolulu in 1859.

As Anderson's remarks indicate, he was pleased with Honolulu. The reports in the local newspapers, some of which are given hereafter, show that Honolulu was delighted with Anderson.

WILLIAM F. WILSON

Honolulu, July, 1938.



"THE WIZARD OF THE NORTH"

PROFESSOR ANDERSON'S OBSERVATIONS

November 2nd, 1859. On arriving at Honolulu, I found everything new. How different from Australia. In Honolulu the scene was changed; and for the first time since I left England, I found myself from home. A different people, costumes and character. The Hawaiians are a splendid race of men—the average height five feet ten inches, well formed, with long jet black hair, and dark olive complexion. The advance they have made in civilization in so brief a period pronounce them at once to be an intelligent race, amongst whom the seeds of civilization and Christianity have flourished and increased a thousandfold. Honolulu has a population of ten thousand, five thousand of which are natives, and the remaining portion American and Europeans of all nations. Americans are by far the most numerous—they are the principal inhabitants, they are the judges of the supreme court, they are ministers to the King; in short, almost every post (with few exceptions) are filled by Americans. The laws are framed from the American code.

My countrymen are here—of course, where on earth are they not. Here as in every other country, they hold posts of honor and trust. R. C. Wyllie, Esq., is the King's Minister of Foreign Relations—he is a native of Ayrshire—of the same family as Sir James Wyllie, late physician to the Emperor of Russia; William Webster, Esquire, the King's Land Agent, is a native of Kirkcudbright; Mr. William McLean, a storekeeper, "frae Dundee"; and Mr. Henry McFarlane, the great hotel-keeper of Honolulu. All these gentlemen are "well to dae" in the world—in fact, all Europeans do well here. Every foreigner is required to take a billet of residence. None are allowed to remain on the islands but those of the right stamp.

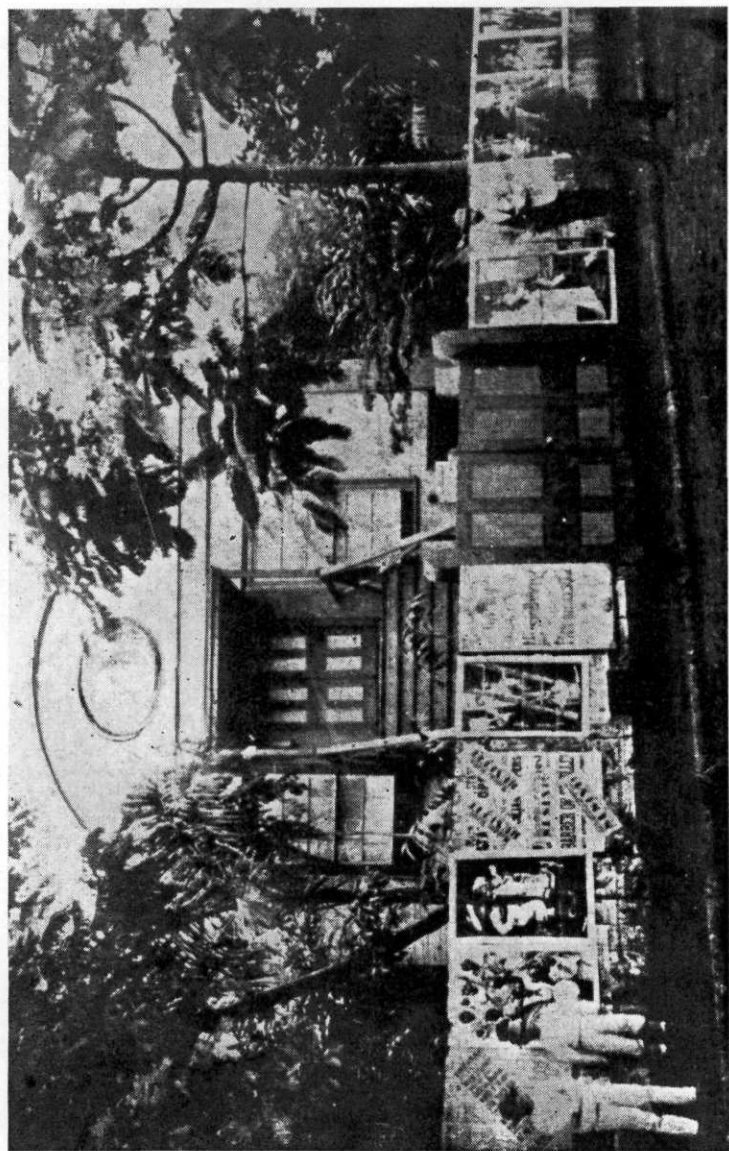
The principal part of the commerce of Honolulu is carried on with California and the North States of America. On the day I landed, there were one hundred whale ships in the harbour, ninety-seven of which belonged to the United States. They generally come to Honolulu twice in the year—to discharge oil and bone in November, and for fresh stores in May. There are supposed to be about four hundred whaling vessels in the North and South Pacific, the greater portion of which come to Honolulu.

That your readers may know the importance of this trade, each ship requires stores amounting to \$7,000 or \$10,000.

The natives who live out of the city have their houses built principally of grass and cane. The houses inside the city are built of brick and coral rock with the exception of the native residences. Honolulu resembles Savannah, U.S.A. I lost no time in seeing the theatre (plate III), a neat wooden building which, when well packed (which it was during my stay), will hold five hundred people. It was remarked on my first night that they had never seen so numerous a turnout of the native population. An hour before the time of commencing, the place was crammed to suffocation. I had to commence as soon as the place was full. I have visited and performed in many countries, but never had I so much interest in a people. If I had said that my performances were super-human, they would have believed it; I, however, in my opening address expressed a wish that the white population would tell the natives such was not the case.

The only difficulty I experienced was in endeavouring to make the announcement to the natives in their own language—"The Wizard of the North has arrived in Honolulu." No terms can be found in their language for "Wizard" and "Magic,"¹ as no professor of my art ever visited Honolulu before. All the advertisements I could get up was, "That a man had arrived on the island who could do things that no other man had ever done before." The terms they afterwards used for me were "Ka akamai keokeo kane Anderson" (the expert white man Anderson). The natives were somewhat skeptical at first. "Ah! All keo-keo kane (white man) say same thing." However, the white population, who understood the language, explained to them what they had seen me do. They believed a great majority of Americans and Europeans had seen me before. Whatever the natives saw they could not believe but that it was super-human, and had something to do with Satanic agency. The performances commenced. Never had I such a wonder-stricken audience, as experiment followed experiment—every one seeming more won-

¹ As with all recent arrivals, Professor Anderson had trouble with native terms. When Kamehameha IV prepared the draft for the advertisement, he used the term Kilo, "seer" or "magician" for "wizard," and for "magic," mea kupanaha, namely "wondrous or unaccountable things" in a sense extending to the supernatural.



"ROYAL HAWAIIAN THEATRE"

drous than its predecessor; till at the conclusion one asked the other if it was real, or was it the work of "Ke diabolio (the D—l), or had they been dreaming. One native said it was all very good for "Akamai keo kane" to say he was not the "Diabolio," for he was sure no "kanaka" (native) or even "Keo-keo kane," if he was not either "Diabolio" or "Pele" (their favourite god), could do such things. "Ah!" said another, "Keo-keo kane ino kane (white man is bad man), he says he no 'Diabolio,' he must be 'Diabolio,' for he can tell 'Mea kupanaha' (all things). When I performed the bottle-trick, one of the natives called out for "Okolehao," a native whisky, distilled from a root, and prohibited by the Government. When the okolehao ran from the bottle they declared it to be the real "okolehao," the name I afterwards got was "Okolehao" (D—l's drink-maker). When the performance was over, Mr. Wyllie congratulated me on my success, and also told me that the performance would do a great deal of good with the natives. He was glad that I had taken the precaution not to work on their superstition, and wished that I had time to stay longer, for he had not the slightest doubt such an entertainment as mine would do good on every isle in the group.

He was sure the Government would pay me handsomely, as the French did Robert Houdin to perform to the Arabs in Algeria. He told me to be ready next day at 11, a.m., when he would introduce me to the King. So ended my first appearance in Honolulu.

In the morning nothing was talked about but "okolehao" among the natives. When I made my appearance in the street, I was followed by an immense crowd of natives shouting "Okolehao, maitai, maitai!" (The D—l drink-maker is very good). At eleven o'clock, Mr. Wyllie called on me; and, followed by a large concourse of kanakas, we walked to the "palacae o na moi" (palace of the King). As a noise is very seldom heard in the neighbourhood of the palace, the guard was turned out. The officer on duty asked Mr Wyllie if there was a riot—who at once explained the cause. The officer was not quite certain if he could admit me without an order, although in company with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Wyllie, however, after a few words with the officer, introduced me to him. I presented my

hand which he grasped; and, as he did so, he screamed out that he was held by hundreds of d—ls, who were sticking pins into his body. The crowd shouted; and, as the military are not very popular with the natives, they seemed delighted to see the soldier writhing in agony. I let go his hand, and he started off into the square of the palace shouting, with all the power of his lungs, that "Ka Diabolo" (the devil) had arrived. The whole of the inhabitants of the palace turned out. Mr. Wyllie was astonished, and could not account for the strange scene he had witnessed. He asked me to explain. I told him I would give him a practical explanation presently. We reached the door of the palace, and in a few seconds were in the audience chamber. The King was not present when we advanced, but in a few minutes he entered. "Your Majesty," said Mr. Wyllie, "allow me to present to you Professor Anderson." "Sit down Mr. Anderson," said his Majesty, "this is not the first time we have met." I was somewhat surprised when his Majesty informed me that he with his brother, Prince Lot Kamehameha, witnessed my performances in London on his last visit to Europe. He was delighted to see me, and bid me "welcome to Hawaii." His Majesty spoke of the effect that my performances had on him in London; he never thought that he should entertain the Wizard of the North in his dominions. The King asked Mr. Wyllie what was the matter with the guard. Mr. Wyllie described to his Majesty what had taken place with the officer of the guard, and the laughable scene which he was witness to. "Ah!" said the King, "I cannot understand how Mr. Anderson could make my officer scream, and get him in such a fright." I told his Majesty I thought if he would permit me to have the honour of shaking hands with him, he would not be surprised. The King stretched forth his hand; he started making a few muscular contortions. I released his hand. His Majesty was astonished, as he had no knowledge of the agent I employed. He insisted that Mr. Wyllie should have a "practical explanation." My friend Wyllie could not account for the phenomenon; he reluctantly gave me his hand; of course, I could use a little more freedom with the Minister for Foreign Affairs than I could with the King. He writhed and screamed, and begged to be released; and when

free he said, "I am not surprised at the officer thinking you the devil, for if you are not his Satanic Majesty, you are 'no canny.'"

The King requested me as a favour to explain the phenomena; to which I at once assented. I showed his Majesty that I had a small galvanic battery in my pocket. With the metallic cords communicating up the back of my coat, running down the sleeve of my right arm, also communicating with the palm of the hand, which, with metallic threads within the palm of the glove, produced, as soon as the battery was put in action in the pocket (which I worked with a spring the moment the hand was grasped), a powerful shock. The party grasping the hand of the operator could not let go till he pleased. The surprise of the King and Mr. Wyllie was ended as they saw the apparatus in explanation. The King requested me to sell him the machine. I had brought it to surprise and, at the same time, present to his Majesty. I then requested his Majesty to accept it, which he did with thanks requesting Mr. Wyllie to keep the secret, as he intended to astonish the chiefs whom he had invited from the neighbouring isles to witness my entertainment, which he intended to do in state on Monday next, accompanied by her Majesty, Queen Emma. So ended my first interview with Kamehameha IV. As we left the palace the officer on duty asked no question, but, in pantomime, at a distance, told us that he still felt the effects of an introduction to "Okolehao."

At the palace there are two files of soldiers on duty, one file at the north gate and one at the south gate. We entered by the north gate; and, as we entered, the soldiers on duty presented arms. When we returned from our audience with his Majesty not a soldier was to be seen. We had to unbar the gate, and make our exit without military honours—not one of the soldiers or even the officer would approach the gate. As soon as we were out we could hear a rush to fasten the gate, and amidst the jabber of the men we could distinguish the words "Ka okolehao, ino" (the devil's drink maker is no good). We had a hearty laugh at what had passed. I thanked Mr. Wyllie for his kindness, and expressed my deep delight with my interview with the King. I had to alter the theatre for a state visit. So bidding Mr. Wyllie "good-bye," I set to work at once to prepare for the King's reception.

On my way from the palace I was amused by the appearance of the native ladies, who generally appear on horseback. They ride male fashion; their habit is composed of several yards of gay print wrapped around their waist, laid across the pommel of the saddle, twisted around their legs, and held by the foot in the stirrup. They seldom wear shoes or stockings. This style of habit is called "Kihei." The dress worn by them is a yoked gown, the material of which is the most expensive Indian and Chinese silks of gaudy patterns, while the humbler classes wear common Manchester printed cotton. The shape of the gown is a cross between a smock frock and a night dress, without belt or band of any kind. The females, rich and poor, wear wreaths of natural flowers, made up in the most tasteful manner; their necklace is of the bright orange coloured pandanus nut. There is a wreath market in Honolulu, where, for a head-wreath you pay five cents, or "five bawbees"; a necklace of the "pandanus" costs the same.

The natives, male and female, delight in horse-riding. There is a race every afternoon. The betting varies from twenty-five cents to fifty dollars. Saturday is the great race day. The ladies on Saturday are generally the jockeys. The race takes place at "Waikiki"; there is immense excitement on the race-course. Recently a few good horses have been brought from California. The ladies going to the race-course on Saturday look like troops of mounted Amazons. The spirit of betting and gambling are strong characteristics of the natives, male and female.

In the pagan and heathen days, the native dances were an appendage to the heathen temples, and were danced in public on great heathen festivals. The dance I saw is only practised by a class of native mountebanks, who travel over the country, similar to the gipsies in England. The dance I witnessed is, indeed "par excellence," the dance of the country, the same as the "Highland Fling" of my ain countrie, or the "Jig" of Ireland. The "Hula" is generally performed by two girls, dressed with an immense hooped petticoat, covered with either glaring silk or fine native cloth; the front of the body of the dress is nearly covered with the "pandanus" nut necklaces; a bunch of feathers of gay colours is attached to the native wreath of flowers which decorates the neck; strips of muslin flutter from each sleeve;

and the dancers occasionally luxuriate in white stockings; their unfortunate ankles are encircled by anklets thickly set with dog's teeth; their wrists suffer the same burden, immense tawdry ear-rings weigh down their ears, and their hair is glossy with cocoa-nut oil, and laden with flowers. They seldom wear shoes, and the contrast between the colour of their arms and legs is extremely ludicrous; they, however, dance in excellent time. The dance-music consists of rude drums made from large calabashes, with apertures at one end, or else they are hollow logs tastefully carved and covered with shark skin. The former were alternately beaten by the hand, or knocked forcibly on the ground. The gesticulations of the musicians were extremely violent, and they occasionally got up a most monotonous howl. When they ceased, to take breath, the howl was taken up by one of the dancers, or sometimes both. The head of the dancer was kept perfectly stationary, while the body and limbs were kept in a state of continual agitation. They danced upon a matting about a yard and a half long and one yard broad.

Sunday 6th, I visited various churches. There are four churches in Honolulu. The stone or native church, capable of containing 4000 people, commenced in 1836. A subscription was raised by the King, nobles, and natives to build a stone church 144 feet long by 48 feet broad. The sum subscribed was 30,000 dollars, and it was six years in building, and was "dedicated to Jehovah, our God, for ever and ever," on the 21st July, A.D. 1842. The service is performed in the native tongue; the choir is excellent, accompanied by a harmonium. There is also a Church of England in Honolulu. The religion of the native Church is Presbyterian, as practised in the churches of New England, U.S.A. The "Bethel" is an American Mission (Methodist principles) for sailors. I found from 200 to 300 sailors attending, from the fleet of whalers in port. The Roman Catholics have a large church, well attended by natives and foreigners, the French and German portion of the inhabitants. Roman Catholicism was enforced at the cannon's mouth; at the same time, a permission was extorted to allow wine and spirits to come into the country from France. Owing to these circumstances, the Roman Catholic religion obtained the name of "the Brandy-

wine Mission," and the priests are called "Palani"² or "Strong drink" by the natives to this day. This extortion was made in opposition to the wishes of the King, by Capitaine Laplace, of the French frigate, "Artemise."

A detail of the labours of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions will not, I hope, be uninteresting to your readers. Romanism has gained considerably in numbers since its entire toleration, but without affecting the Protestant Churches materially—the latter, perhaps, were never more sound and never flourished more than at present, while the former have made many converts among the class ever adverse to the principles and restraint of their American teachers. The Protestants report 240 churches and schoolhouses, used as places of worship. The Romanists 104, with a total population supposed to be under their influence of nearly 14,000. By a similar computation more than 80,000 Protestants would be found on the islands; but in these gross computations great allowance should be made for those who are alike indifferent to religious rites of any kind, and who are equally fair subjects for the religious zeal of both. The national religion, as understood in the sense of that received by the rulers, the most intelligent of the people, and the vast majority of all classes is Protestantism in the form of a mild Presbyterianism.

In the native church, at the end of the service, there was to be buried a chief of high standing. The funeral was attended by some thousands, many of whom had walked as far as twenty miles from the interior, to be present at the last rites of the beloved chief. His name in English was John William Pitt, or "Kinau" in the native tongue.³ He was young. That your readers may have an idea of the respect the people have for their chiefs, a recital (after the burial service of the church was read), given by thousands of the natives, was commenced at his tomb by a single voice, and rising until one full, passionate burst of grief filled the air—resounding amongst the neighbouring rocks and hills, whose echoes gave back the sorrowful cry. The effect—as thus borne from voice to voice, and from one valley to another,

² Palani is the Hawaiian pronunciation (hence the term) for "brandy," and for "France" or "French."

³ John William Pitt Kinau, son of W. P. Leleiohoku and Ruth Keelikolani, died in Kohala, September 9, 1859, aged 17.

now rising almost into a shriek of bitterness, then subsiding in a low, sad murmuring wail—was (to my unaccustomed ear) most startling and impressive.

From all that has yet appeared, though Protestantism first implanted in the nation is likely to continue and strengthen, yet Romanism may undoubtedly become a considerable and even flourishing sect. They have shown a creditable zeal for education, and have enrolled 2800 pupils, besides 600 children who do not attend school. In 1846, they commenced a high school at Koolau (Oahu). The Rev. Abbé Maigret has a select school of several hundred scholars, who manifest a tolerable proficiency in the common branches of education.

Monday, 7th. A State visit to the theatre in Honolulu is of rare occurrence; the consequence was, that the tickets were bought early by a few Yankee speculators and sold at auction. This was quite a success. Box tickets were sold at five and six dollars premium, the parquettes at three and two dollars, and pit from one dollar to seventy-five cents. The house was splendidly decorated with fresh flowers. The Royal box was decorated with curtains of crimson and gold, and festoons of flowers, in the most artistic style. The Royal arms of Hawaii and Britain were emblazoned in gold and silver over the canopy. In the morning, the King and chiefs came to see my arrangements—with which they were much surprised, as they had never seen the theatre decorated in European style. His Majesty took the opportunity of looking at my apparatus (which is well known to your readers). He also admired its scientific and artistic character. The King had witnessed my performances in Europe, but its character and nature were entirely unknown to the chiefs, although they had heard strange reports of what they were to see. They walked with fear and awe amongst my magic implements. I placed my galvanic battery in connection with one of my large metallic candelabra, and induced one of the chiefs to take hold of it. He was fast on the instant, screaming at the top of his voice. The King and the other chiefs were delighted to see the chief writhing in all the grotesque distortions imaginable. Once released, he jumped off the stage; nor could he, even at the request of the King, be induced again to approach within the "magic temple." He sat down on one of the chairs in

the front row of the parquet. I requested the King to tell him to keep himself steady by holding on to the arms of the chair. No sooner did he take hold than he was fixed, and in a worse state than before. When released, he believed the whole building was composed of devils. Out he rushed; nor could he be persuaded to re-enter. The King was pleased with my arrangements, and thanked me for the amusement occasioned by the trick played on his chief. He said it would do him good, as he would himself explain to him the principles of galvanism; at present, he fully believed it was the devil's agency.

When the King and chiefs left, I had horses ready to convey my family and a few friends to see one of the most magnificent scenes probably in the world. It is on this island (Oahu), eight miles from Honolulu. We started on horseback to visit the celebrated "Pali," or Alpine precipice of Hawaii. Perhaps the following may give an idea of the scene: Travelling north from Honolulu, we gradually ascended the left branch of the valley for about eight miles. Our narrow path led along by the streams and numerous kalo-beds for about half the distance, when we passed the celebrated field where the last battle was fought on these islands; then (as the valley becomes contracted between two steep mountains) among shrubs, ferns, wild vines, and trees, hills and dells, and murmuring brooks, and the last mile and a half through a wood. The scenery on the right and left is exceedingly picturesque. The mountains on either side, about one hundred rods distant, rising higher and higher as we passed along the valley, presented a well-defined outline against the sky, sloping from their summits in the middle of the islands almost to the sea on the south. The luxuriance of the vegetation—the great variety and form and shade of the foliage—the tiny cascades rushing merrily down the steep mountainsides—the densely-shaded brooks seeking a passage through the thicket into the open country—presented a fine contrast to the naked sides of the Punchbowl crater and the arid plain at its base. In the wood at the foot of a waterfall in the base of one of these mountains, we were told "Keakua-moo," "the reptile god," who devoured men, once resided.

Emerging from a thicket, we at length found ourselves on the brink of the Pali, or precipice, 1,100 feet above the level of

the sea, overlooking the district of Palikoolau. The sudden bursting on the vision, as by magic, of this district—its vast amphitheatre of mountains—and, beyond it, the heaving, white-fringed ocean, rising in the distance to meet the sky—in their united beauty and sublimity make a powerful impression on the senses, while one is balancing on the verge and holding his hat to prevent it from being whirled high in mid-air by the force of the trade winds rushing through this gorge, as if demanding a wider passage to heighten the grandeur and beauty of the view which is rarely surpassed by any scene in nature. The lofty peak of Konahuanui, very near on the right, towers about 3,000 feet above the precipice; and on the left, and almost equally near at hand, the more precipitous, perpendicular, rocky, needle-pointed Nuuanu rises almost to an equally lofty height. It is nearly perpendicular on the north, where it forms a part of the stupendous wall of the valley, but, like Konahuanui, slopes gradually towards the south. From its steep, basaltic side, halfway to the summit, the whitish tropic bird sailed off over the valley, as it lay basking in the summer sunbeams, stretched out in the giant arms of the mountain, which, in its ample sweep, reached out and touched the white fringe of the ocean's broad mantle.

On my return from the Pali, it was not quite dark. I had to pass the theatre on the way to my hotel. I was astonished to find the military on duty around the theatre, together with the native police, when I inquired what was the matter. I found there had been a report circulated that the crush would be so great that the theatre (of wood) would be pulled down. The King's orders were, to keep the mob off. Three hours before the time of opening the doors, there were hundreds in the streets leading to the theatre for hundreds and hundreds of yards in every direction. No two persons were allowed to pass the gates together, and only those passed who had tickets. By this precaution the mob was kept off. The theatre was quite filled in every corner. The box audience was in full opera costume. No theatre in Europe could have presented a more elegant display of beauty and fashion. The only marked difference was observable in the half-castes. The ladies look like and dress as the Spanish ladies do in Madrid at the Grand Opera. The native ladies in the lower portion of the house wore their best silk

smock-frocks and a fresh wreath and necklace. The theatre was strongly perfumed by the fragrance of the fresh flowers. The "tout ensemble" was of the most imposing description—quite new to my eyes. At the request of R. C. Wyllie, Esq., I was to wear my Highland costume, in honour of "Auld Scotland." The theatre was crowded an hour and a half before the time appointed for the King to enter.

Dressed in the "garb of Old Gaul," I went outside of the theatre, ready to receive the King at the entrance. That natives were astonished I could see by their gestures in the bright moonlight (which here is almost sunlight), and it was my dress attracted their attention. The military, who were drawn up in line were surprised, and more so when I requested Mr. Brown, the Marshal, to tell the officer on duty that Queen Victoria had 5,000 soldiers all dressed the same as myself. This the officer told his men. They pointed at me and chattered. Some of them would even have left the ranks to examine the ornaments of my dress. I told Mr. Brown to tell the officer that I would march down the line and let his men have an opportunity of examining my dress more closely. The men were told that "Okolehao" would pass them. Some of the men were on duty, the day before, at the palace, and did not much admire coming into such close contact with "Okolchao." However, as I passed along the ranks, they were much pleased with my dress, dirk, and other ornaments. They pointed to the "Skean Dhu" in my stocking. The "Cairngorms" sparkled in the bright moonbeams, the soldiers seemed delighted, the officer seemed pleased also, and thanked me for my kindness. I stretched out my hand, which he declined, saying, "I had enough of you, Okolehao, yesterday."

Carriages are heard in the distance, the military in an instant are under arms, the whole crowd shout "Ka moi! ka moi!—(The King! the King!). The King and Queen arrive in the first carriage—I precede their Majesties to the Royal box—the Ministers of State wear their sashes and orders—the chiefs, in modern costume, with sashes and orders—the King wears a plain evening dress, with a diamond star.

The Queen and Princess Victoria (sister to the King), and the "dames d'honneur" are in elegant French opera costumes. Her Majesty is half-caste, and wears a black lace veil, with a

superb tiara of diamonds and necklace to match. None of the Royal party, except the King, Prince Lot (his brother), and Mr. Wyllie had ever seen an entertainment of magic. The Queen seemed most astonished. I was requested by the King to apply to the regal box for the gloves, handkerchiefs, watches, rings, that I might require for my experiments. This, of course, heightened the effect and added to the astonishment. All seemed delighted. At the end of the entertainment, the King sent for me to the Royal box. He complimented me and introduced me to the Queen. Mr. Wyllie said, "Well, your Majesty, what do you think of my country dress?" Her Majesty, who had never seen a living Scotsman in his native dress, asked Mr. Wyllie to explain the use of the various ornaments. All was explained by him. Her Majesty was still more astonished when Mr. Wyllie told her that the plaid was the Victoria tartan. "Did the Queen of Great Britain wear such a dress?" asked Queen Emma. "Not exactly," he told her; "the skirt was a little longer, but the fabric was the same as she wore in her Highland home, Balmoral Castle, in my native land."

Kamehameha IV is the younger nephew of the late King Kamehameha III. He was adopted by his uncle, and his adoption as Crown Prince confirmed by the people and the House of Nobles. He is not yet twenty-five years of age. He is five feet nine inches high, well formed (differing in appearance from his elder brother, Prince Lot Kamehameha, and his sister Victoria Kaahumanu). His features resemble the Italian, and he is one of the most finished gentlemen I have met. He is beloved by his subjects, native and foreign. He married in June, 1856, a very beautiful half-caste, the daughter of an English physician, L. C. B. Rooke, Esq., a minister of the late monarch. An heir to the Hawaiian throne was born in 1857. The young Prince I saw playing, attended by his nurse and fan bearers; he was bareheaded and without shoes or stockings, in his perambulator. I remarked to the King that I thought it strange that he was allowed to walk barefooted on the coral and shells with which the garden walks are covered. The King said—"Her Majesty dresses him in her style in the morning; I have my style in the afternoon. I believe my style makes him hardier, and develops his muscular powers."

The King, when Crown Prince, visited Europe in 1851, with his brother Lot. He has a perfect knowledge of English and American politics, and speaks English, French, German, and Spanish, with the greatest ease and fluency. It would be poor praise to say—"Kamehameha IV is a model King."

Tuesday, 8th. I was ordered to the place. The King informed me that her Majesty the Queen and the chiefs were delighted and astonished. His Majesty presented me with a native pearl splendidly set in gold, as a souvenir of my visit to the kingdom of Hawaii. His Majesty regretted that my visit to the Hawaiian kingdom was so short. "Had you been staying in my dominions," said his Majesty, "my yacht would have been at your service; your entertainment, if properly applied, would soon eradicate the monster superstition, which (notwithstanding the unceasing labours of the missionaries, and all the lectures delivered) still exists to an enormous extent in the islands."

I presented his Majesty with sufficient apparatus to practice parlour magic, so that at any time he could amuse his subjects. When leaving the King, I met Mr. Wyllie, and asked him what token of my gratitude I could leave in Hawaii for the magnificent gift of the King. I said, "Have you any charitable institution here?" "Why, man!" said he, "ye've hit the verra thing. That will please the King and Queen more than if you were to give ten times the amount of what you will get, if you carry out my suggestion." "What is it?" "We have here a hospital just founded by the Queen, called Queen Emma's Hospital. It is, up to the present time, the great event of her Majesty's reign. If you will stop and perform one night for the benefit of the hospital your name will be handed down to posterity in Hawaii." I said, "Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to give my performances for the benefit of so noble an institution. If I can get the captain to stay one day behind the time of my agreement with him, which expires tomorrow. I told Wyllie I would lose no time in seeing the captain immediately. He agreed without the slightest hesitation, wishing the benefit every success.

I returned to Wyllie—told him the captain had given his sanction, regardless of expense. I went with Mr. Wyllie again to see the King, and make the necessary arrangements. "I will

write a bill in the native language," said the King. Which he did on the instant.

I send you the original, it may be interesting to some of your readers, to see the original copy of the Wizard's bill, written by a King in behalf of charity, whose ancestors, eighty years ago, were heathens:

MA KE KA UOHA O KA MOI KE ALII

Ke hooakaka aku nei ka mea nona ka inoa malalo, ua loa hou mai kekahi manawa hou ona e noho ai ma keia kulanakauhale, a ua waiho aku oia ia manawa no ke alii o Hawaii, ua kauoha ia, i ka Poakolu e hana hou iaia na mea Kupanaha o ke "Kilo o ke Akau."

Ua noi aku ka mea nona ka inoa malalo e haawi ia na loa a pau o ia la no "Ka Hale ma'i o ka moi wahine," i hoomaka hou ia iho nei e ka moi, a ka moi wahine.

Elua manawa hana o ia la, I ka hora ekolu o ke ahiahi, no na wahine a me na keiki liilii a pau e makemake ana e ike i keia mau mea kupanaha ano e; a i ka po ana iho i ka hora ewalu, e like me mamua aku nei, a ke lana nei ka manao o ka mea nona ka inoa malalo, kokua nui mai ana ka poe o keia kulanakauhale i kela hana maikai.⁴

BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING

The undersigned announces that further time has been obtained for him to remain in this city, and he has placed that time at the disposal of the King of Hawaii who has decreed that on Wednesday the magical performance of the "Wizard of the North" shall be repeated for him.

The undersigned has requested that all the receipts of that day shall be applied to the benefit of "The Queen's Hospital," just founded by the King and Queen.

On that day, there will be two performances: at three o'clock in the afternoon for all the women and little children who wish to see these strange, magical things; and at night at eight o'clock as just mentioned, and the undersigned is hopeful that the people of this city will assist greatly that good enterprise.

Mr. Wyllie said—"I am delighted at the idea. Eh! man, just to think that my countryman should give the first benefit to the Queen's Hospital."

That the public may have some idea of the Christian charity in this kingdom, I copy the following extracts from the "Christian Friend":

CONCLUSION OF THE KING'S SPEECH ON PROROGUING THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRESENT YEAR

I confess that the act of your two Houses which I regard with the most complacency is that in which you commit the public treasury to the aid of hospitals. You, Representatives, amongst whose constituents

⁴ The Hawaiian text contained some typographical errors, originating of course with the Aberdeen printer and not with the King. These have been detected and corrected by Rev. Henry P. Judd, who kindly translated the Hawaiian announcement into English.

are those very persons for whom those places of refuge are principally designed, have expressed a kind and grateful feeling for the personal share which I and the Queen have taken in the labour of securing the necessary funds for the establishment of an hospital in Honolulu.

Whilst acknowledging your courtesy, I wish to express the almost unspeakable satisfaction with which I have found my efforts successful beyond my hopes. It is due to the subscribers as a body that I should bear witness to the readiness not less than the liberality with which they have met my advances. When you return to your several places, let the fact be made known that in Honolulu the sick man has a friend in everybody. Nor do I believe that He who made us all, and to whose keeping I commend, in now dismissing, you, has seen with indifference how the claims of common humanity have drawn together, in the subscription list, names representative of almost every race of men under the sun.

Extract from the "Friend" of Honolulu, May 14 (being a portion of a leading article):

For a long time the necessity for a public hospital has been seriously felt by foreigners as well as natives. While Honolulu for more than a quarter of a century has not been without its hospitals for British and American seamen, still those have not fully met the necessities of the public. While many have felt kindly disposed towards the enterprise, the great cost of erecting and sustaining such establishments has been hitherto an insuperable obstacle. Even that, it is now confidently hoped, will be overcome.

Our youthful King and Queen, taking a favourable view of the subject, have also been pleased to take the initiative steps. His Majesty, rightly imagining that no one could more successfully than himself collect funds for this object, with subscription list in hand, and accompanied by his private secretary, goes forth among his people. Such an effort becomes the throned monarch better than his crown. We confidentially trust that this effort will not cease to be vigorously prosecuted by royalty and all classes of subjects throughout this kingdom until the most ample accommodation is provided for the sick and suffering.

The King will find that walking the pathway of true benevolence will conduct to the most enviable position of popularity among his people.

The King had made up his mind that the benefit should be a great affair, not only for the funds of the hospital, but in honour of myself. The King suggested that I should give two performances—the first at three in the afternoon, under the patronage of the Queen and of the Prince of Hawaii, who would make his first public appearance on this occasion: and the second in the evening, under the patronage of his Majesty the King, and the Committee of the Hospital.

All the arrangements were made, and the King said he would go personally and make solicitations amongst his people, which he did. It was, indeed, a great affair. I enclose you a letter from the Committee of the Hospital:

TO PROFESSOR J. H. ANDERSON

Sir,—We, the undersigned, for ourselves and Co-trustees of the Queen's Hospital, have much pleasure in tendering to you our thanks for the very handsome addition to the funds of our Institution contributed by you, being the proceeds of your yesterday's entertainments.

While we regret that your stay here has been so limited, we join in heartily wishing you, and your interesting family success in the more extended sphere for which you leave us: and we would add that the people of Honolulu will long remember the pleasant visit of the "Wizard of the North."

We are, your obedient servants,

G. M. ROBERTSON	} Executive Committee.
WM. WEBSTER	
THEOD. C. HEUCK	
JAS. W. AUSTIN	

It will be long before "Okolehao" will be forgotten in Honolulu. I arrived "a Okolehao ino"; I left "ke keokeo kane Anderson" (the good white man Anderson).

I enclose you a letter from Mr. Wyllie, which will speak for itself. You will find that Scotsmen are still Scottish, clannish, and extending to each other the hand of friendship for the sake of their native land, in all parts of the earth (The manuscripts to which Mr. Wyllie refers will be published in the "Wizard's Tour Round the World.")

On Friday, 10th, I bade my friends farewell, and again at sea. I left the Hawaiian Islands with regret. I shall ever remember with gratitude the many acts of kindness I experienced from Kamehameha IV, his ministers, and subjects, native and foreigners.

My next letter will be from San Francisco.

JOHN HENRY ANDERSON
Wizard of the North.

COMMENTS IN HONOLULU

The *Royal Hawaiian Theatre* (plate III), where the performances were given, described as "the first specially constructed" in Honolulu, was opened on June 17, 1848, and continued to function intermittently until January, 1881, when a new theatre called the *Music Hall* absorbed the business. The older establishment stood on the east corner of Alakea and Hotel streets, on the site later occupied for many years by the Masonic Temple.

Both during and after Professor Anderson's visit, the weekly papers, *The Polynesian* and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, gave him very favorable notices, although he depended on billboards for most of his announcements. In each paper, a similar, quaint advertisement was run once. That in *The Polynesian*, on November 5, 1859, is reproduced in plate IV.

In the same issue appeared the following enthusiastic report of the first performance:

"The Wizard of the North," Professor Anderson.

On Tuesday last this celebrated magician,—whose wonderful performances would have earned for the performer three hundred years ago a pile of faggots in this world and a devils convoy in the next—arrived in the ship *Milwaukee* from Australia, enroute for California. The Professor has detained the ship here a few days at his own (and a heavy) expense, and will give four exhibitions of his unrivalled skill in the various branches of his profession; the first of which came off last evening at the Hawaiian Theatre, with a house so full that we doubt if five more persons could have been squeezed in without bursting out the walls of the building.

The reporter's duty in regard to the gentleman and his "night in wonder world" is as easy as it is pleasant. From his first appearance to his final exit there was but one sensation pervading the audience, and that one of continuous unsurpassed delight and astonishment. The effect upon the native population has been magical in the extreme, and by many of them the appearance of Professor Anderson will be remembered as vividly and as long as was the advent of Lono. The appearance of Professor Anderson's three daughters, the youngest as the jewel in the scrap book; the next in her mesmeric sleep, suspended like Mahomet's coffin, between heaven and earth; and the third in her performance of a clairvoyante, gave an interest and an attraction to the performance as touching as it was pleasing.

The Professor performs again tonight, and on Monday and Tuesday nights; and on Wednesday next it is said that he leaves for San Francisco.

Any man who can put his neighbor in good humor with himself, is a clever man and a good sort of man; but any man that can inoculate a whole community with the same feeling of unalloyed delight, is a public benefactor, and deserves an ovation wherever he goes.

We understand that the Professor visits San Francisco for the first time; but we know it to be in the "eternal fitness of things" that the man of miracles should receive a hearty welcome in the city of wonders.

Remarks a week later, in the same paper, indicate that interest in the visitor had not lagged:

Since our last notice, this astonishing Magician performed on Monday, before their Majesties the King and Queen, and on Tuesday to crowded and delighted audiences. With that noble and generous spirit which has characterized his career and imprinted his name on so many charitable institutions wherever he has traveled, Professor Anderson offered to devote the proceeds of Wednesday's entertainments to the benefit of the "Queen's Hospital." Two entertainments were given on that

ROYAL HAWAIIAN THEATER

PROF. ANDERSON

MADE

A GREAT HIT!

THE THEATER WAS LAST NIGHT

CRAMMED FROM PIT TO DOME!

NEVER was Audience more

ASTONISHED OR DELIGHTED!!

HE WILL REPEAT

This Evening,

Also, on

MONDAY AND TUESDAY EVEN'GS,

His Royal Performances of

NATURAL MAGIC!

OR,

Two Hours in Wonder-World!

As performed by him before

QUEEN VICTORIA,

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH,

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, KING OF PRUSSIA,

KING OF SWEDEN, KING OF DENMARK, KING OF HANO-

VER, &c., &c., &c.

He has, during the last 25 years, performed in every portion of the civilized globe, causing DELIGHT and ASTONISHMENT which no other MORTAL has accomplished. He will use the whole of his

BRILLIANT APPARATUS!

Manufactured for the express purpose of giving his Performances before the

QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AT WINDSOR CASTLE!

The Royal Programme will combine wonders of

BLACK ART!

WHITE MAGIC!

NECROMANCY!

DEMONOLOGY!


And illustrations of **WITCHCRAFT!**


PROF. ANDERSON

Begs to state, that in consequence of his EXPENSES for Four Representations being over \$1000, he is compelled to make the following the scale of Prices:

Private Boxes, per Agreement.

Dress Circle,.....	2 00
Parquette,.....	1 50
Pit,.....	75

 Doors open at 7 o'clock, Performances commence at 8 precisely.

 Tickets to be had and seats secured at the Box Office of the Theatre ONLY.

day; one in the afternoon, to accommodate the juveniles and others who could not make it convenient to attend in the evening; and the other at the usual hour in the evening. The following acknowledgment of the Treasurer of the Queen's Hospital shows the amount received:

Honolulu, Nov. 10, 1859.

"I have the pleasure of adding to the funds of the Queen's Hospital the sum of \$309.25, being net proceeds of the Benefit generously given by Prof. Anderson on the 9th inst. Mr. Charles Derby is also entitled to thanks for the use of the Theater for the afternoon performance without charge.

Chas. R. Bishop,
Treasurer, Queen's Hospital."

Added to which we take pleasure in inserting a copy of the letter addressed by the Executive Committee of the Queen's Hospital to Professor Anderson, viz: [Letter on p. 67].

We part with regret from this singular meteor of magic and fun, who has set our community a-roaring with laughter and astonishment at his wonderful performances. We have no doubt that many a one has looked with intensity, sharpened with fear, for some sign of the "cloven foot," but the only "familiar" of the Wizard's cave, that we could discover, was that sweet little "jewel of the scrap-book," who was—"o'er young to marry yet."

We have no doubt that the native portion of his audience looked upon him with the same awe and delight as they looked upon the comet of last year.

We have heard and read of the "bottle-imp," but the bottle-trick of Professor Anderson has puzzled a Honolulu audience not a little. . . .

Again we bid him farewell. We may never meet again, but the echo of the applause which he will gather on his homeward course will reach even us, and recall the pleasant evenings of his sojourn in Honolulu.

In addition, *The Polynesian* tried to help the good work with a pun, here much abbreviated: "Why, I thought Anderson was a 'cullered pusson.'" "How so?" "From a boy I've heard every one speak of him as the great *negro-man-sir*!"

The *Advertiser* was as pleased as its rival newspaper, and so expressed itself on November 3, 10 and 17, but in fewer words. On the last date it reprinted notices of Anderson's tour in Australia, from which it is learned that he also gave dramatic impersonations—Rob Roy, Rolla and William being mentioned—and gave benefit performances for hospitals and charities of different sects with great impartiality.

Unfortunately, the native Hawaiians' own record of their impressions is lacking. The only native paper of the time was the weekly *Ka Hae Hawaii*, published by the Board of Education. One brief reference is found on November 9 in the notice, by royal order, of the benefits to be given for the Queen's Hospital, which directs attention to the street posters for particulars.

In a private letter, the late Dr. W. D. Alexander remarked: "Prof. Anderson, the magician and juggler, is here, and is creating quite an excitement. The kanakas think he has an *akua* to help him."

A tradition in the Thomas H. Hughes family is that the natives were amazed at the performances of Anderson, both in the theater and in the street. One of the latter was the purchase from a Hawaiian woman of an orange which, when cut in half, revealed half a dollar. A second orange, after bisection, yielded a similar coin. Thereupon the seller declined further business and took home the balance of her stock.

Anderson's visit provided *The Friend* with the opportunity for moralizing on human idiosyncrasies. Its worthy editor apparently, had not attended any of the performances, and approached the subject from another angle. On December 1, 1859, p. 92, he ran this paragraph:

Deception Highly Prized.

A certain writer has remarked that there is nothing so gratifying, and for which people will more readily pay their money, than for being deceived. The late visit of Mr. Anderson, the Magician, is a good illustration of this remark. Our people, from the merchant to the porter, are complaining of hard times and little money in circulation, which is doubtless true; now just see what the good people of Honolulu did a few days ago. A vessel arrives from Australia *en route* for San Francisco. Professor Anderson comes on shore and announces himself as a great deceiver. He frankly tells the people so; still the poor people, complaining of the hard times, club together, pay the Master demurrage on his vessel, say \$1000—pay all expenses, say another \$1000. At the very lowest estimate, the poor and simple people of Honolulu, *these hard times*, pay \$3000 for being cleverly deceived one week!

LIST OF MEMBERS
(Corrected to March 31, 1939)

HONORARY

Howay, Judge F. W. Kuykendall, Professor Ralph S.

LIFE

<p>Ashford, Miss Marguerite K. Atherton, Frank C. Atkinson, Robert W. Baldwin, Mrs. Emily A. Beckwith, Martha W. Bishop, E. Faxon *Cartwright, Bruce Cooke, Mrs. Maud B. Damon, Ethel M. Frear, Walter F. Frear, Mrs. Mary Dillingham</p>	<p>Lyman, Mrs. Mary Babcock Marx, Mrs. Eloise C. Midkiff, Frank E. Phillips, Stephen W. Robinson, Mark A. Spaulding, Thomas M. Swanzy, Mrs. Juliet J. Von Holt, Mrs. Elizabeth V. Westervelt, Andrew C. *Westervelt, William D. Westervelt, Mrs. Caroline C.</p>
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Wilcox, Gaylord P.

ANNUAL

<p>Ai, C. K. Alexander, Arthur C. Alexander, Mary C. Anderson, David W. Anderson, R. Alexander Anderson, Robbins B. Andrews, Arthur L. Angus, Donald Anthony, J. Garner Baker, Ray J. Balch, John A. Baldwin, Samuel A. Baldwin, William D.</p>	<p>Beckley, Mrs. Mary C. Bell, Janet Bennett, Mrs. Nora H. Berkey, Ira F. Billam-Walker, Donald Billson, Marcus K. Bishop, Mrs. Marcia Blue, George Verne Bond, B. Howell Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding Boyer, Frank O. Bradley, Harold W. Brown, Bertha Bloomfield</p>
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*Deceased, 1939

- Brown, Francis H. I.
 Brown, George I.
 Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.
 Bryant, Mrs. Caroline G.
 Buck, Peter H.
 Budge, Alexander G.
 Burbank, Mary A.
 Cades, Milton
 Camp, William M.
 Canavarro, Mrs. Helen
 Carter, A. Hartwell
 Carter, Alfred W.
 Carter, Mrs. Helen S.
 Cartwright, Mrs. Virginia G.
 Cartwright, Wm. Edward
 Castle, Alfred L.
 Castle, Dorothy
 Castle, Harold K. L.
 Castle, Mrs. Ida Tenney
 Castro, Antonio D.
 *Catton, Robert, Sr.
 Caum, Edw. L.
 Chamberlain, William W.
 Clark, T. Blake
 Clarke, Mrs. Jane Comstock
 Collins, George M.
 Colson, Warren H.
 Cooke, Mrs. Lilianet L.
 Cooke, Clarence H.
 Cooke, C. Montague
 Cooke, George P.
 Cooke, J. Platt
 Cooke, Richard A.
 Cooke, Mrs. Muriel H.
 Cooke, Thomas E.
 Cooper, C. Bryant
 Coulter, J. Wesley
 Cox, Mrs. Catherine E. B.
 Crane, Charles S.
 Crawford, David L.
 Crehore, Mrs. Frances I. C.
 Cross, M. Ermine
 Cummingsmith, Bro. Charles
 Damon, Mrs. Gertrude V.
 Damon, Mary M.
 Dillingham, Frank T.
 Dillingham, Walter F.
 Dole, Emily C.
 Doyle, Mrs. Emma Lyons
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Cordelia B.
 Elkinton, Mrs. Anna
 Ellis, Thomas W.
 Emory, Kenneth P.
 Erdman, John P.
 Ewart, Arthur F.
 Faye, Hans Peter
 Fernandes, Frank F.
 Fleming, David F.
 Fleming, John L.
 Fuller, George G.
 Franckx, Fr. Valentine H.
 Furer, William C.
 Gartley, Mrs. Ada J.
 Garvie, James A.
 George, William H.
 Gibson, Henry L.
 Gibson, Thomas H.
 Goodale, Mrs Emma Whitney
 Green, Caroline P.
 Greene, Ernest W.
 Gregory, Herbert E.
 Gulick, Sidney L.
 Halford, Francis J.
 Hall, Charlotte V.

- Hamilton, John A.
 Hammond, Mrs. Orine
 Handy, Edw. S. C.
 Harrison, Fred
 Hart, Henry H.
 Hemenway, Charles R.
 Hite, Charles M.
 Hobbs, Jean
 Hodgson, Joseph V.
 Holstein, H. Lincoln
 Holt, Mrs. Henrietta D.
 Hooley, Osborne E.
 Houston, Victor S. K.
 Howell, Hugh
 Humme, Charles W.
 Hunnewell, James M.
 Hunter, Charles H.
 Henry E. Huntington
 Library and Art Gallery
 Iaukea, Curtis P.
 Jones, Maude
 Jones, Stella M.
 Judd, Albert F.
 Judd, Bernice
 Judd, Henry P.
 Judd, Lawrence M.
 Judd, Sophie
 Kai, Mrs. Margaret W.
 Kapo, Alfred
 Katsuki, Ichitaro
 Kawananakoa, Princess David
 Keawe, Arthur
 Keller, Arthur R.
 Kemp, Samuel B.
 Kimball, George P.
 King, Samuel W.
 King, Wm. H. D.
 Kluegel, Henry A.
 Konze, Fr. Sebastian
 Kopa, George C.
 Krauss, Noel L. H.
 Langton-Boyle, Mrs. E. A.
 Larsen, Nils Paul
 Lecker, George T.
 Lee, Peter A.
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